



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

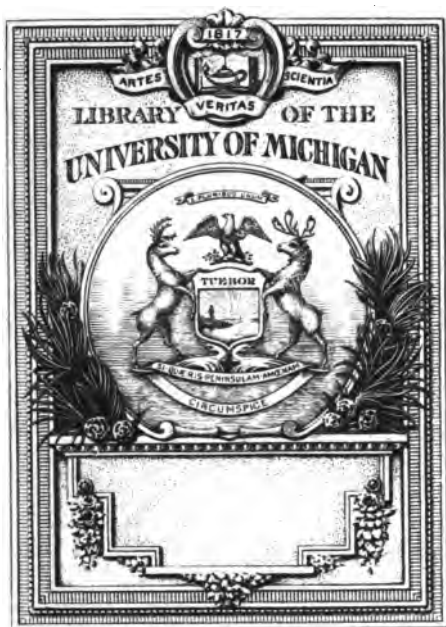
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



DD
89
.E47
V. 8
1918



**THE
INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL
LIBRARY**

SECTION ONE

SECOND EDITION



Gustavus Adolphus.
Painting by A. van Dyck.



HISTORY

OF THE

GERMAN PEOPLE

**FROM THE FIRST AUTHENTIC
ANNALS TO THE PRESENT TIME**

VOLUME EIGHT

The Thirty Year War from 1618-1648

Edited by
EDWARD S. ELLIS, A.M.
and
AUGUSTUS R. KELLER

ILLUSTRATED

1918
The International Historical Society
Incorporated **New York**

**Copyright, 1916, by
AUGUSTUS R. KELLER**

**THE QUINN & BODEN CO. PRESS
RAHWAY, N. J.**

Ref. 57.
Union Lib. 455.
10-11-57
39321

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. CAUSES OF THE WAR	17
II. THE FLAME SPREADS	34
III. WALLENSTEIN'S ABDICATION . . .	67
IV. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS'S INVASION .	77
V. THE LOOTING OF MAGDEBURG AND TILLY'S DEFEAT	99
VI. IN WINTER QUARTERS AT MAINZ .	140
VII. CONQUEST OF BAVARIA AND BOHEMIA	151
VIII. WALLENSTEIN'S RETURN TO POWER .	172
IX. THE DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS	210
X. THE AFTERMATH OF THE BATTLE OF LUTZEN	240
XI. WALLENSTEIN'S DEATH	281
XII. DISSOLUTION OF THE PROTESTANT UNION	317
XIII. NEW SWEDISH VICTORIES	354
XIV. THE END OF THE LONG WAR . . .	373

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Gustavus Adolphus. Painting by A. van Dyck. After an original Photograph by F. Hanfstängl, Munich :	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	FACING PAGE
Frederick V of the Palatinate (Dutch Painting)	60
Cardinal Richelieu	102
Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland	192
Gustavus Adolphus Enters the City of Munich	230
Wallenstein's Death	320

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

CHAPTER. I

CAUSES OF THE WAR

PASSING strange it is that one of the most appalling tragedies in human history was launched by a comedy so grotesque that it cannot be recalled at this late day without forcing a smile.

On May 23, 1618, there was a great uproar in the city of Prague, caused by a furious quarrel between the Catholics and Protestants. Far aloft, in an upper story of the council chamber, a party of men representing the two faiths were shouting, swinging their fists, and with crimson faces threatening one another. The most obnoxious of the Catholic principals were Slavata and Martinitz. The rumpus which they raised reached the ears of the excited partisans below, who dashed up the stairs, burst in the door, and straightway proceeded to make the situation more lively than it had been, though that seemed hardly possible. Slavata found himself seized by a sturdy fellow of the Protestant faith, and half carried and shoved toward the open

window. He struggled fiercely to save himself, for he knew what the assault meant, but he was in the grip of his master, and despite his desperate resistance he was tumbled through the window and went sprawling to the ground, more than fifty feet below. His comrade Martinitz was only a few seconds behind him.

Glancing around for "more worlds to conquer," the assailants saw the secretary of the two men who had just vanished. He fought like a wild cat, but without delay he dived through the raised sash and alighted on the shoulders of his predecessors, and we are told apologized for the seeming discourtesy, which so far as he was concerned was unavoidable.

Not one of the three men was harmed. Why? Directly under the window was a huge pile of manure and rubbish which received them as if upon a feather pillow. They crawled out upon solid ground, none the worse except as concerned their clothing and feelings.

That absurd incident introduced the Thirty Years' War.

We learned long since of the irrepressible antagonism between the Catholics and Protestants. Nothing is truer than that the most ruthless of all wars is a so-called religious one. A special cause of aggravation was the clause in the Peace of Augsburg called the Ecclesiastical Reservation, which provided that any ecclesiastical prince who turned

Protestant must surrender his lands and all authority pertaining to the office.

It cannot be said that this treaty as a whole pleased either Protestants or Catholics, but it was particularly objectionable to the former, who in many cases disregarded its provisions. In the northern part of Germany numerous Catholic bishoprics were retained by Protestants.

The Protestant faith advanced rapidly under Ferdinand I (1555-1564) and Maximilian II (1564-1576), because they were tolerant and did not persecute anyone. When, however, Rudolph II (1576-1612) came to the throne he acted the rôle of a furious bigot. He was merciless to the followers of Luther and Calvin in Austria, and the Catholic duke of Bavaria occupied the free Protestant city of Donauwörth and brought it under his own rule. This so alarmed the brethren throughout Germany that in 1608 they formed the Evangelian Union for mutual defense, though it did not include all the Protestant states.

The savage oppression of the Protestants in Bohemia by Ferdinand caused a revolt. This Bohemian king was chosen emperor of Germany and was backed by the Catholic or Holy League formed in 1609. The Protestants expected to obtain aid from England because Frederick V, whom they selected as their ruler, was the son-in-law of James I of that country, but they were dis-

appointed. Ferdinand marched into Bohemia and speedily crushed the revolt. Frederick V fled and Denmark, England and Holland sided with him.

Next to Austria, Bavaria was the strongest state in the empire and had become the stronghold of the Catholic faith. The army of their league, under Maximilian of Bavaria, volunteered to attack the disorganized Bavarians. A battle was fought at White Mountain near Prague, November 8, 1620, in which the Bohemians were scattered like chaff. Among the most ardent fugitives was Frederick, who was called in derision "The winter king," because his reign lasted through only one winter.

Now if the Catholics could arm Spain and Italy for their assistance, the republic of Venice, Holland and England opened their treasuries to the Protestants; they found the states of the North and the formidable Turkish power prepared for a speedy assistance. Brandenburg, Saxony and the Palatinate opposed three important Protestant votes to the three ecclesiastical ones in the electoral council, and for the elector of Bohemia, as for the archduke of Austria, the imperial dignity was a restraint, provided the Protestant princes knew how to use their importance. The sword of the Union could confine the sword of the league to its sheath, or make the result of the war dubious. However, private matters severed the general political bond which was to hold the Protestant members together.

The crisis found only mediocre actors on the stage, and the decisive moment remained unemployed because the courageous lacked power and the powerful had neither intelligence nor courage.

The fame of his ancestor Maurice, the extent of his countries, and the importance of his vote, placed the elector of Saxony at the head of Protestant Germany. It depended upon the resolution of this prince which of the two quarreling parties should continue victorious; nor was Johann Georg unmindful of the advantages which this important relation offered him. As equally important an acquisition for the emperor as for the Protestant Union, he carefully avoided surrendering wholly to either of them. Unhampered by the chimera of knightly or religious enthusiasm which prompted one sovereign after another to venture crown and life in the hazardous game of war, Johann Georg aspired more for the solid and substantial fame of peaceful improvements.

If his contemporaries charged that in the midst of the storm he had forsaken the Protestant cause; that he had preferred the aggrandizement of his House to the salvation of the Fatherland; that he had exposed the whole of the Lutheran Church in Germany to the danger of destruction, except to raise his arm for the Reformed Church; that he had damaged the common cause as an unreliable friend just as much as did their most pronounced enemies—it was the

fault of those princes who did not make the wise policy of Johann Georg their model. If, notwithstanding this wise policy, the Saxon farmer, like everybody else, complained of the passages of imperial troops; if the whole of Germany witnessed how Ferdinand deceived his ally and scorned his promises; if, at last, Johann Georg thought he could notice this himself—then more shame to the emperor who so cruelly betrayed such honest trust.

If exaggerated confidence in Austria and the hope to increase his land possession tied the hands of the elector of Saxony, fear of Austria and the apprehension of losing his countries held the weak Georg Wilhelm of Brandenburg in far more ignominious fetters. The Union blamed these two princes for not having saved the countries of the elector of the Palatinate. Rash trust in untried forces, the influence of French advice and the alluring glamor of a crown had induced this unfortunate prince to embark on a venture to which neither his genius nor his political talent were equal. By the division of his countries and by the discords between its rulers, the power of the Palatinate dynasty was weakened—a power which, if in one hand, could have rendered the result of the war doubtful.

Austria and Catholic Germany had in Duke Maximilian of Bavaria a powerful as well as statesman-like and valiant protector. Remaining true to the same deliberate plan throughout the course of the

whole war, never wavering between his own advantage and his religion, never a slave of Austria, which worked for his greatness and trembled before his saving arm, Maximilian would have deserved to receive the dignities and the land which rewarded him from a better hand than that of arbitrariness. The remaining Catholic princes, mostly ecclesiastical dignitaries, too unwarlike to resist the hordes which were attracted by the wealth of their countries, became one after another victims of the war, and were content to pursue an enemy in cabinet and pulpit whom they did not dare to face in the field. All of them, either slaves of Austria or of Bavaria, suffered by comparison with Maximilian; only in the hands of this prince was their united power of any importance.

The formidable monarchy which Charles V and his son had unnaturally welded together out of the Netherlands, Milan, the two Sicilies, the extensive East and West Indian countries, was already tottering under Philip III and Philip IV. The West Indian conquests had thrown Spain into the depths of poverty to enrich all the markets of Europe, and exchange merchants at Antwerp, Venice and Genoa were long speculating with the gold that was still latent in the mines of Peru. For the sake of India the Spanish countries had been depopulated; India's treasures were squandered in the reconquest of Holland, in the chimerical project of overthrowing the

French succession to the throne, and in an unsuccessful attack upon England. But the pride of this court had outlived the zenith of its grandeur, the hatred of its enemies, and its terribleness, and the horror still seemed to hover round the forsaken cave of the lion. The distrust of the Protestants lent to the ministry of Philip III the dangerous statesmanship of his father and in the German Catholics still lay the trust in Spanish help. External splendor hid the wounds of which this monarchy was bleeding to death, and its powers still loomed large because it maintained the autocratic tone of its golden days. Slaves at home and aliens on their own throne, the Spanish shadow kings gave laws to their German relations, and it is permissible to doubt if the assistance which they rendered was worth the ignominious dependence with which the German emperor had to buy it. Behind the Pyrenees Europe's fate was decided by ignorant monks and intriguing favorites.

A peculiar rôle in this respect was that of the popes of the period; depending on their character as "successors to St. Peter," and also as "princes of a church state." If the former did not care for anything more than to see the Protestants exterminated and the Austrian arms victorious, the latter had cause to bless the arms of the Protestants which prevented this neighbor from becoming dangerous to them. The one or the other gained the upper

hand, according to whether the popes were more concerned about their temporal power or their ecclesiastical authority; on the whole, however, Roman statesmanship considered the more urgent danger first,—and it is a well-known fact that the fear of losing a present possession is apt to determine one's mind much more strongly than the desire to regain a long lost one. Thus we can understand how the "Governor of Christ" could conspire with the Austrian dynasty for the destruction of the heretics and at the same time make common cause with the latter for the overthrow of Austria. How wonderfully involved are the threads of the world's history! What would have become of the Reformation and of the freedom of the German princes if the *bishop* at Rome and the *prince* at Rome had pursued one and the same interest consistently!

France had lost with the distinguished Henry her entire greatness and weight in the political scales of Europe. An impetuous minor destroyed all the benefits of the preceding forceful government. Incapable ministers, creatures of favoritism and intrigue, scattered in a few years the treasures which Sully's economy and Henry's parsimony had accumulated. The same civil war which armed Germany against Germany also brought France into revolt against France, and Louis XIII only entered his majority to make war upon his own mother and

upon his Protestant subjects. The latter, held in check by Henry's luminous policy, took up their arms; roused by the opportunity and encouraged by some enterprising leaders, they formed a state of their own within the state and chose the mighty town of Rochelle to be the center of their incipient realm. Too poor a statesman to nip this civil war in the bud by wise toleration, and yet not sufficiently master over the forces of his state to lead them with determination, Louis XIII was soon brought to the degrading step of having to buy the submission of the rebels with large sums of money. A great mind at the helm of the ship of state would have brought the Protestants in France to obedience and won freedom for their brethren in Germany; however, Henry IV was no more and only Richelieu was to revive his statesmanship again.

While France sank from the height of her glory, liberated Holland finished the edifice of her greatness. The enthusiastic courage had not yet vanished which, inspired by the Orange dynasty, had converted this commercial nation into a people of heroes and made them capable of maintaining their independence in a murderous war upon the Spanish dynasty. Mindful of how much they owed to foreign assistance for their liberation, these republicans were eager to help their German brethren, and all the more so since both fought against the same enemy, and Germany's freedom served as the

best bulwark for that of Holland. However, a republic which had yet to fight for its own existence, which with the most admirable efforts was hardly equal to a superior enemy in its own territory, could not deprive itself of the needful defensive forces in order to squander them for foreign states.

England, too, although in the meantime increased by Scotland, no longer had the influence in Europe under the weak James which the masculine mind of Elizabeth had displayed. Convinced that the welfare of their isle was tantamount to the safety of the Protestants, this statesmanlike queen had never lost sight of the principle of promoting every enterprise which promised to diminish the power of Austria. Her successor lacked both the intelligence to grasp this principle and the power to put it into execution.

While the thrifty Elizabeth had not been sparing with her treasures in order to lend her assistance to the Netherlands against Spain, and to Henry IV against the rage of the league, James left his daughter, his grandchild, and his son-in-law to the kind mercies of a despotic and infuriated victor. While this king was exhausting his erudition in search of the origin of the Royal Majesty in Heaven, he let his own deteriorate on earth.

Two meritorious kings, although not even similar in personal fame, but alike in power and desire

for renown, compelled the admiration of the European North in those days. Under the long and active reign of Christian IV, Denmark grew to an important power. The personal qualities of this prince, an excellent navy, élite troops, well-ordered finances and shrewd diplomatic alliances—all these factors combined to bring to this state prosperity within its own borders and an immense prestige in the eyes of the outer world. Sweden had been liberated from serfdom by Gustavus Vasa, who also reorganized the state and made a place for it in the world's history. What this great prince only outlined in principle was finished by his still greater grandchild, Gustavus Adolphus.

Both countries, formerly held together unnaturally under a single ruler and powerless in this union, had separated in the days of the Reformation, and this separation was the beginning of their prosperity. Even as the close union had proved harmful for both states, so were friendship and harmony necessary for them after segregation. The Lutheran Church depended on both for support, both had to watch the same seas; the same interests should have united them against the same enemy. But the hatred which had dissolved the union of both monarchies continued to keep the separated nations hostile. The Danish kings could not yet renounce their claims upon the Swedish state, and the latter could not banish the memory of the

former Danish tyranny. The border between the two states provided a continuous cause for quarreling; the vigilant jealousy of both kings and unavoidable commercial collisions in the northern seas never let the sources of animosity be drained.

Among the means with which Gustavus Vasa, the founder of the Swedish empire, had tried to give stability to his new creation, the reformation of the Church had been one of the most effective. A fundamental law of the empire excluded Catholics from all state offices and forbade all future sovereigns of Sweden to alter the religion of the empire. However, Gustavus's second son and second successor, Johann, turned Catholic again, and his son Sigismund, at the same time king of Poland, attempted steps which were aiming at the destruction of the constitution and of the ruling Church. The princes and nobles, with Karl, duke of Südermannland, Gustavus's third son, as their leader, showed energetic opposition, resulting finally in open civil war between uncle and nephew, between the king and the nation. Duke Karl, who was administrator of the empire during the king's absence, used Sigismund's long residence in Poland and the justified anger of the nobles to win the good graces of the nation, and imperceptibly paved the way to the throne for his own House. The bad administration of Sigismund helped him considerably. A general assembly decided in favor of the vice-

regent to deviate from the right of primogeniture, which Gustavus Vasa had introduced into the succession of the throne, and put the duke of Südermannland on the throne, from which Sigismund with all his descendants was solemnly excluded. The son of the new king, who reigned under the name of Charles IX, was Gustavus Adolphus, whom for this reason the adherents of Sigismund refused to acknowledge as the son of the usurper of the throne.

Gustavus Adolphus had not yet completed his seventeenth year when the Swedish throne became vacant through the death of his father, but his early mental maturity induced the nobles to shorten the legal term of his minority in his favor. With a glorious victory over himself he commenced a reign which was to be accompanied by continuous victory and which was destined to end in triumph. The young countess of Brahe, daughter of one of his subjects, had captivated his great heart, and the resolution to share the Swedish throne with her was a sincere one. Forced, however, by the circumstances of the period, all his inclinations had to give way before his duty as a regent, and heroism filled a heart which was not destined to experience the happiness of quiet domesticity.

Christian IV of Denmark, already king before Gustavus Adolphus beheld the light of this world, had attacked the Swedish frontiers and gained im-

portant advantages over the father of this hero. Gustavus Adolphus hastened to terminate this ruinous war, and through wise sacrifices concluded peace in order to be able to turn his forces against the czar of Moscow. The ambiguous fame of a conqueror never tempted him to shed the blood of his warriors in an unjust war, but a just one was never rejected by him. His arms were successful against Russia, and the Swedish empire gained important provinces in the East.

Meanwhile, King Sigismund continued his hostile acts against the son of the man who had taken his throne, and left no trick untried to make the subjects of Gustavus Adolphus waver in their fidelity, alienate the affections of his friends and make his enemies implacable. Neither the great qualities of his opponent, nor the frequent marks of devotion which the Swedes showed their adored king, could cure that unreasonable prince of the futile hope again to ascend the lost throne. All peace proposals of Gustavus Adolphus were rejected haughtily. This peace-loving hero saw himself entangled involuntarily in a protracted war with Poland, in which gradually the whole of Livonia and Polish Prussia were brought under the Swedish rule. Always the victor, Gustavus Adolphus was ever ready to be the first to offer the hand of peace.

This Swedish-Polish war fell in the beginning of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, with which it

was closely connected. It was sufficient that King Sigismund, a Catholic, disputed with a Protestant prince about the Swedish crown, in order to keep the former assured of the most active friendship of Spain and Austria; a double relation with the emperor gave him a still nearer claim upon his protection. It was primarily the confidence in this mighty support that encouraged the king of Poland to continue a war which turned out so much to his disadvantage, and the courts at Madrid and Vienna did not fail to sustain his courage by boastful promises. While Sigismund was losing one place after another in Livonia, Courland and Prussia, he saw his ally in Germany rush from victory to victory to the winning of his unrestricted rule; no wonder that the disinclination to conclude peace increased in the same proportion with his defeats. The violence with which he pursued his chimerical aim blinded him against the malicious policy of his ally, who only kept the Swedish hero busy at his expense, so that he could overthrow Germany's freedom at his leisure, and subsequently usurp the exhausted North as an easy conquest. One fact, however, with which both had failed to reckon,—Gustavus Adolphus's heroic greatness,—tore the network of this treacherous statecraft asunder. The eight years of Polish war, far from exhausting the Swedish power, had only served to mature the war genius of Gustavus Adolphus to steel the Swedish

army by long rigid training and to perfect a new art of fighting which was to accomplish wonders on German soil later.

After this necessary digression into the condition of the European states in those days, let us now resume the thread of our story.

CHAPTER II

THE FLAME SPREADS

FERDINAND had again come into possession of his countries, but had not been compensated for the expenses which the reconquest had cost him. A sum of forty million guilders, which the confiscations in Bohemia and Moravia placed in his hands, would have been sufficient to pay his own and his ally's costs, but this tremendous amount soon vanished under the hands of the Jesuits and of his favorites. Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, to whose victorious army the emperor was alone indebted for the possession of all his states, who in order to serve his religion and his emperor had sacrificed a near relative, had the best-founded claims upon his gratitude, and in an agreement which the duke had made with the emperor before the war broke out expressly stipulated the repayment of all expenses. Ferdinand felt the heavy obligation which this agreement and those services imposed upon him; however, he had no mind to fulfill it to his own personal loss. His intention was to reward the duke in a munificent way, but without depriving himself. How could

this be done better than at the expense of that prince against whom the war seemed to give him this right, and whose crime could be sufficiently magnified to justify every outrageous act by the prestige of the law? So Frederick had to be persecuted further; he must be ruined that Maximilian might be rewarded, and a new war was waged in order to pay the expenses of the old one.

But another, more important motive was added. Up to the present Ferdinand had only fought for his existence and fulfilled no other duty than that of self-defense. Now, however, when victory gave him freedom to act, he thought of his alleged higher duties, and reminded himself of the vow which he had made at Loretto and Rome to his Generalissima, the Holy Virgin, to spread veneration for her at the risk of his life and of his crowns. The suppression of the Protestants was inseparably attached to this vow. More favorable circumstances could not possibly combine for its fulfillment than now, after the termination of the Bohemian war. He lacked neither the power nor the appearance of justification to bring the Palatinate countries into Catholic possession, and the consequences of this change would have been immensely important for the whole of Catholic Germany. While he was rewarding the duke of Bavaria with the stolen possessions of his relative, he gratified at the same time his basest desires and

fulfilled his highest duty: he crushed an enemy whom he hated, and he spared his selfishness a painful sacrifice by making himself deserving of the heavenly crown.

Frederick's doom had long been decided upon in the cabinet of the emperor before fate decreed it, but only after this had happened was the dreaded "Imperial Ban" hurled against him. An edict of the emperor which, however, lacked all the formalities that the imperial laws necessitate in such a case, proclaimed the elector and three other princes who had given him armed assistance in Silesia and Bohemia, offenders against the Imperial Majesty and disturbers of the peace of the country, put them under ban and declared all their possessions and dignities forfeited.

The execution of this sentence against Frederick, that is to say, the conquest of his countries, was handed over to the crown of Spain, as possessor of the Burgundy district; to the duke of Bavaria and to the league, with a similar infraction of the laws of the empire. If the Evangelian Union had been worthy of the name which it bore, and of the cause which it defended, the emperor would have encountered insurmountable obstacles in the execution of the ban; but the despicable power, which was hardly a match for the Spanish troops in the Lower Palatinate, was compelled to avoid a battle with the united forces of the emperor, the league and

Bavaria. The sentence of the imperial ban which was pronounced over the elector at once drove all the imperial cities out of the alliance, and the princes soon followed their example. Lucky enough to save their own countries, they left the elector, their former leader, to the despotic fury of the emperor, swore off the Union, and vowed never to renew it.

The German princes had ingloriously forsaken the unfortunate Frederick, and Bohemia, Silesia and Moravia had rendered homage to the formidable power of the emperor; one man alone, an adventurer, whose whole wealth was his sword, Count Ernst von Mansfeld, dared to defy the whole of the emperor's forces in the town of Pilsen. Left by the elector without any help after the battle of Prague, even ignorant whether Frederick would thank him for his persistency, he held out for a time against the Imperials, until his troops, forced by the shortage of money, sold the town to the emperor.

Not daunted by this blow, he was soon establishing new recruiting places in the Upper Palatinate to draw to himself the troops which the Union had dismissed. In a short time a new army, 20,000 strong, was formed under his command, all the more terrible for the provinces through which they marched, as they could only subsist on pillage. Not knowing where this horde of warriors would turn

next, all neighboring bishoprics whose wealth could attract them were in a tremble. However, pressed hard by the duke of Bavaria, who penetrated into the Palatinate as the executor of the ban, Mansfeld had to vacate this territory. Escaping the pursuing Bavarian general, Tilly, by a ruse, he suddenly appeared in the Lower Palatinate, where he perpetrated the outrages in the Rhenish bishoprics which he had planned for the Franconians. While the Imperial-Bavarian army was inundating Bohemia, the Spanish general, Ambrose Spinola, had invaded the Lower Palatinate from the Netherlands with a considerable force, a territory which the Ulmer agreement allowed the Union to defend. However, the measures were so badly chosen that one place after another fell into Spanish hands, and finally, when the Union had dissolved, the largest portion of the country remained under Spanish occupation. The Spanish general, Corduba, who commanded these troops after the departure of Spinola, hastily lifted the siege of Frankenthal, when Mansfeld advanced into the Lower Palatinate. However, instead of driving the Spaniards out of this province, the latter crossed the Rhine in order to give his needy troops a treat in Alsatia. All open countries through which these hordes marched were devastated, and it was only by making enormous financial sacrifices that the towns could escape looting. Strengthened by this campaign of pillage,

Mansfeld again appeared on the Rhine, to invade the Lower Palatinate.

As long as such a man was fighting for him, Frederick was not hopelessly lost. New prospects began to open for him, and his misfortune brought him friends who had been silent in his prosperous days. King James of England, who had been looking on indifferently when Frederick lost his crown, became alarmed when the existence of his daughter and of his grandchildren was at stake, and the victorious enemy undertook an attack upon the electoral countries. Late enough he opened his treasures and hastened to support the Union, which at that time was still defending Lower Palatinate, and, after it had gone, Count Mansfeld, with money and troops. He also induced his near relative, King Christian of Denmark, to lend his assistance. The armistice between Spain and Holland, which was about to be terminated, deprived the emperor of all help that he could have obtained from the Netherlands. But more important than this was the succor which came to the Palatinate count from Transylvania and Hungary. The truce between Gabor and the emperor was scarcely ended when this formidable old enemy of Austria began to inundate Hungary again, and had himself crowned king in Pressburg. So rapid was his progress that Boucquoi had to quit Bohemia to defend Austria and Hungary against Gabor. This brave general was

killed in the siege of Neuhausel; the valiant Dampierre had fallen earlier on the battlefield of Pressburg. Gabor was steadily advancing toward the Austrian border, and the old Count Thurn and several outlawed Bohemians had taken their hatred and their arms to this enemy of their foe. A vigorous attack on the part of the Germans, while Gabor was pressing the emperor in Hungary, would have quickly restored Frederick; but as always, when Gabor appeared in the field, the Germans and Bohemians laid down their arms; when he had exhausted himself the Germans commenced to recover.

However, Frederick had not failed in the meantime to throw himself into the arms of his new protector, Mansfeld. He appeared in disguise in the Lower Palatinate, for which Mansfeld and the Bavarian general, Tilly, were fighting hard; Upper Palatinate had long been forced. A ray of hope appeared to him when new friends joined him from the ruins of the Union. Margrave Georg Friedrich of Baden, a former member of the Union, had for some time been enlisting troops which soon formed a considerable army. Nobody knew against whom this mobilizing was directed, when suddenly he marched forth to unite with Count Mansfeld. He abdicated in favor of his son before he went into the war, in order to protect his country against the revenge of the emperor in case

he should be killed or captured. The duke of Württemberg, too, began to reënforce his army. This raised the courage of the Palatinate count, and he worked earnestly to revive the Union again.

It was now Tilly's turn to think of his safety. He hurriedly called the troops of the Spanish general, Corduba, to his aid. But while the enemy united his forces, the margrave of Baden and Mansfeld separated, and the former was defeated by the Bavarian general near Wimpfen (1622).

An adventurer without money, whose legitimate birth even was a matter of dispute, had established himself as the defender of a king whom one of his nearest relatives had ruined and whom his father-in-law had forsaken. A reigning prince gave up his countries, which he was peacefully governing, in order to try the uncertain luck of war for another who was a stranger to him. A new adventurer, poor in country possessions, but all the richer in glorious ancestors, now took over the defense of a cause which the former had despaired of. Duke Christian of Brunswick, administrator of Halberstadt, thought he had learned from Count Mansfeld the secret of how to support an army of 20,000 men without money. Inspired by youthful bravado and with the desire to make a name for himself at the expense of the Catholic clergy whom he hated intensely, as well as to capture booty, he assembled a considerable army in Lower Saxony,

to which the defense of Frederick and of German freedom had to give a name. "God's friend and the priests' foe" was the slogan which he had stamped upon his coins that were made of molten silver from the church—a slogan which he by no means disgraced by his deeds.

The lands through which this plundering multitude of humanity went were devastated as usual. By looting the Lower Saxon and Westphalian clerical chapters they gained enough strength to ransack the bishoprics on the upper Rhine. Driven from there by friend and foe, Duke Christian was approaching the River Main near the town of Hoechst, where he crossed after a murderous battle with Tilly, who tried to bar his way. With the loss of half his army, he reached the opposite bank, where he quickly rallied the remnants of his troops and joined Count Mansfeld. Pursued by Tilly, this horde overran Alsatia for the second time to make up for the devastations which they had to leave incomplete on the first invasion. While Elector Frederick was traveling about with the army, looking more like a fugitive beggar than a king, his friends endeavored to reconcile him with the emperor. Ferdinand did not want to take away from these men all hope of seeing the Palatinate count reinstated. Full of deceit and pretense, he showed himself ready to negotiate, for he hoped thereby to chill their zeal in the field and to

prevent further damage. King James, the dupe of Austria as usual, contributed through his officiousness support to the measures of the emperor. Above all, Ferdinand demanded that Frederick should lay down his arms if he wanted to appeal to the mercy of the emperor, and James thought this demand was really very fair. At his instigation, the Palatinate count separated from his only true protectors, Count Mansfeld and Duke Christian, and awaited in Holland the "mercy" of the emperor.

Mansfeld and Duke Christian were embarrassed only for a new name; the cause of the Palatinate count had not induced them to take up arms, consequently his departure could not disarm them. War was their purpose, regardless for whose cause they were fighting. After a futile attempt of Mansfeld to enter the services of the emperor, both went to Lorraine, where the excesses of their troops spread terror even in the interior of France. For a time they waited here in vain for a master who was going to hire them, when the Dutch, who were hard pressed by the Spanish general, Spinola, bartered for their services. After a terrible battle at Fleurus with the Spaniards, who tried to head them off, they reached Holland, where their appearance at once prompted the Spanish general to end the siege of Bergen op Zoom. However, Holland soon got tired of such wild guests and used the first

opportunity to rid itself of their dangerous assistance. Mansfeld had his troops recuperate in the prosperous province of East Friesland for new deeds. Duke Christian, full of passion for the Palatinate countess whom he had met in Holland, more warlike than ever, led his soldiers back to Lower Saxony, the glove of this princess fastened upon his hat and the slogan "All for God and Her" upon his banners. Both of them were to play important parts in this war for a long time to follow.

All the imperial states were now rid of hostile troops, the Union dissolved, the margrave of Baden, Mansfeld and Duke Christian driven from the field, and the Palatinate territories overrun by the troops of the imperial executives. The Bavarians had occupied Mannheim and Heidelberg, and Frankenthal soon surrendered to the Spaniards. In a corner of Holland the Palatinate count was waiting for the ignominious permission to be allowed to conciliate the anger of the emperor by falling prostrate before him, and a so-called electors' diet at Regensburg was to render the final decision of his fate. This had been done a long time ago at the court of the emperor, but the circumstances were only now propitious enough to announce the decision. After all that had been undertaken by the emperor against the elector, Ferdinand did not think any more that a sincere reconciliation would

be possible. What was lost had to remain lost; Frederick was not to see his country again, and a prince without a country and a people could no longer wear the electoral hat. The Palatinate count had sinned seriously against the House of Austria; the duke of Bavaria had battled for its sake. The House of Austria and the Catholic Church had to fear much from the desire for revenge and from the religious hatred of the Palatinate dynasty, but both had to hope more from the gratitude and the religious zeal of the Bavarian House. At last, by conferring the Palatinate electoral dignity upon Bavaria, the Catholic religion was assured the most decisive majority in the electors' council and a lasting victory in Germany.

The latter was enough to dispose the three ecclesiastical electors favorably to this innovation; among the Protestants only the vote of electoral Saxony was important. But could Johann Georg dispute with the emperor about a right without which his own was made doubtful? To a prince, however, whom his descent, his dignity, and his power placed at the head of the Protestant Church in Germany, nothing, as it seemed, should have been more sacred than to maintain the rights of this Church against all attacks of the Catholics; but the question was not so much how he could guard the interests of the Protestant religion against the Catholics, but to which of two equally

hated religions, the Calvinists or the Papists, did he not begrudge the victory, and upon which of two equally dangerous enemies should he bestow the electorate. Between the opposing duties it was perhaps natural to leave the decision to private hatred and private advantage. The born protector of German liberty and of the Protestant religion encouraged the emperor to dispose of the electorate according to his imperial authority, and did not allow him to be influenced by electoral Saxony, who might oppose his measure for the sake of formality. If subsequently Johann Georg was hesitating with his consent, Ferdinand himself had given cause for this change of mind by driving the Lutheran preachers out of Bohemia, and the enfeoffment of Bavaria with the electoral Palatinate ceased to be an unlawful action as soon as the emperor consented to give the province of Lausitz to the elector of Saxony in return for a payment of six million German thalers.

Ferdinand solemnly invested the duke of Bavaria with the Palatinate electorate at Regensburg against the opposition of the whole of Protestant Germany and without having regard to the fundamental laws of the empire to which he had sworn obedience at the time of his election. Frederick now saw himself irrevocably ejected from his possessions without even being heard before the court which now condemned him; a privilege which the

law grants to the lowest subject in the empire, even to the blackest criminal.

This outrageous step at last opened the eyes of the king of England, and as just about this time the negotiations were being suspended which had been opened in regard to a marriage of his son to a Spanish lady, James at last vigorously assumed the part of his son-in-law. A revolution in the French ministry had made Cardinal Richelieu the leader of public affairs, and this kingdom soon began to feel that there was a real man at the helm of the ship of state. The movements of the Spanish governor in Madrid to take possession of the Veltlin territory, in order to find from there a connecting point with the hereditary states of Austria, again awakened the old fear of this power and with it the state maxims of Henry the Great. A marriage of the prince of Wales with Henrietta of France meant a closer union between these two crowns, and the union was joined by Holland, Denmark and some of the Italian states. A plan was devised to compel Spain by armed force to relinquish Veltlin and Austria to the restoration of Frederick, but James I died, and Charles I, quarreling with his parliament, could not give any more attention to the affairs in Germany. Savoy and Venice held back their assistance, and the French minister thought he would better first subdue the Huguenots in his own country before he could ven-

ture to protect the Protestants in Germany against the emperor.

Count Mansfeld, denuded of all assistance, was standing inactively near the lower Rhine, and Duke Christian of Brunswick again found himself driven from German soil. A new invasion of Bethlen Gabor in Moravia had ended fruitlessly, as had all the previous ones, in a formal peace with the emperor. The Union was no more; no Protestant prince was under arms, and yet at the borders of Lower Germany stood the Bavarian general, Tilly, with a victorious army on Protestant ground. The movements of Duke Christian of Brunswick had drawn him to this territory. The necessity of watching this enemy and preventing him from making other invasions was to justify even now his presence in this country. But Mansfeld and Christian had dismissed their armies for want of money, and the soldiers of Count Tilly did not see any enemy far or near. Why, then, did he still trouble the country in which he lingered?

It is difficult to discern the voice of truth in the clamorings of heated parties, but it was a serious matter that the league did not disband its armies. The emperor and the league were standing in Germany, armed and victorious, and nowhere was there a power which could oppose them, in case they should make an attempt to attack the Protestant princes or even to overthrow the religious peace. If

Emperor Ferdinand really had never intended to misuse his victories, the defenselessness of the Protestants would awaken such a thought in him. Antiquated agreements could not be a restraint to a prince who desired to owe everything to his religion, who believed that the end sanctifies any means. Upper Germany had been forced into submission, and nothing but Lower Germany could stand in the way of his autocratic schemes. Here the Protestants were the ruling power, here the majority of chapters had been snatched from the Catholic Church, and the time seemed propitious for the restoration of these lost possessions. In those chapters, confiscated by the princes of Lower Germany, lay a considerable part of their power, and to help the Church regain what belonged to it was at the same time an excellent pretext for weakening the princes.

It would have been an unpardonable carelessness to remain inactive in this dangerous situation. The memory of the outrages which Tilly's army had perpetrated in Lower Saxony was yet too fresh not to encourage the princes to take up their self-defense. With the greatest possible speed the district of Lower Saxony was mobilized. Extraordinary war taxes were levied, troops enlisted and arsenals filled. Negotiations were going on with Venice, Holland and England concerning subsidies, and much debate within the ranks of the Union

as to who was to be placed at the head. The kings of the Sound and the Baltic, natural allies of this district, could not look on with indifference should the emperor conquer it and become their neighbor on the shores of the northern seas. The double interest of religion and diplomacy demanded a check in the progress of this monarch in Lower Germany. Christian IV, as duke of Holstein, considered himself a prince of this district, and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden was induced to participate in this alliance. Both kings vied with each other for the honor of defending Lower Saxony, and of battling against the formidable Austrian power. Each sovereign offered to put a well-equipped army in the field under their personal leadership. Both laid their proposals and terms before the English ministry, where finally Christian IV succeeded in outbidding his rival. Gustavus Adolphus demanded for his security the ceding of several fortified places in Germany where he himself did not possess a square foot of land, in order to be able to give his troops the necessary places of refuge in case of a disaster. Christian IV had Holstein and Jutland, through which countries he could safely retreat after a lost battle.

With the idea of stealing a march upon his rival, the king of Denmark hastened to show himself in the field. Appointed colonel of the Lower Saxon district, he collected an army of 60,000 men

within a short time; the administrator of Magdeburg, the dukes of Brunswick and the dukes of Mecklenburg joined forces with him. The assistance which England gave reason to hope for raised his courage and, equipped with such a force, he flattered himself he could end the war in a single campaign.

Although a report was sent to Vienna that the preparations were only intended to defend the district and to maintain quiet and order in this territory, the negotiations with Holland, with England and even with France, the extraordinary efforts of the district and the formidable army which had been mobilized appeared something more than mere self-defense; they seemed to have for their final aim the complete restoration of the elector of the Palatinate and the humiliation of the emperor who had grown too powerful.

After the emperor had exhausted negotiations, admonitions, threats and commands, to induce the king of Denmark to lay down arms, without the slightest effect, hostilities began, and Lower Germany became the scene of the war. Count Tilly followed the left bank of the River Weser and occupied all the passes up to the town of Minden; after an unsuccessful attack upon Nienburg, and after having crossed the stream, he inundated the principality of Calemberg. The king was operating on the right bank of the Weser and spreading over the Bruns-

wick country. However, he had weakened his main body by several strong detachments, and conscious of the superiority of his opponent, he avoided a decisive battle as carefully as the league general sought it.

The league had demonstrated its willingness to defend the emperor, which meant practically its own welfare, but little could be expected from it in the carrying out of the imperial plans of conquest. Only an imposing military force put in the field by the emperor himself could relieve him of this uncomfortable dependence upon the league and Bavaria. However, the war had exhausted the imperial countries far too much to be able to bear the tremendous expense of a war of conquest. Under these circumstances nothing could have been more welcome to the emperor than the offer with which one of his officers surprised him.

It was Count Wallenstein, a splendid officer, the richest nobleman in Bohemia. He had served the imperial House from his earliest childhood, and distinguished himself in several campaigns against the Turks, the Venetians, the Bohemians, Hungarians and Transylvanians. In the battle of Prague he had fought as a colonel, and afterward, as major-general, he had defeated an Hungarian army in Moravia. The gratitude of the emperor was equal to these services, and a considerable part of the estates which were confiscated after the Bohemian

revolt was his reward. Possessed of an unlimited fortune, inspired by ambitious schemes, full of confidence in his lucky star, and still more in a careful calculation of the circumstances of the time, he offered to equip and maintain an army at his and his friends' expense, if he could command 50,000 men. There was not one who did not ridicule this proposal as the chimerical scheme of an impetuous hot-head, but he was given several districts in Bohemia as places of recruiting and the permission to fill appointments for officers. In a few months 20,000 men were under arms, with whom he left the Austrian borders, and soon afterward he appeared with 30,000 men on the frontier of Lower Saxony. The emperor had not given anything to this whole mobilization except his name. The reputation of the commander, prospects of brilliant promotions and expectation of booty attracted adventurers to his colors from all parts of Germany, and even reigning princes, tempted by the desire for fame or money greed, now offered to enlist regiments for Austria.

For the first time in this war an imperial army appeared in Germany. Wallenstein had the order to reënforce the troops of the league with his army and to attack the king of Denmark, together with the Bavarian general. Jealous of Tilly's war fame, he did not intend to share the laurels in this campaign with him, or to forego the glory of his deeds in the resplendence of Tilly's. His plan of cam-

paign did, as a matter of fact, support the operations of the latter, but he carried it out quite independently. As he lacked the sources from which Tilly defrayed the necessities for his army, he had to lead his troops into wealthy countries which had not yet suffered from the war. So without obeying the order to join the commander of the league, he advanced into the territory of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, and took possession of the river Elbe near Dessau. All the territories on both banks of the stream were now exposed to his attacks and his plundering; from here he could threaten the king of Denmark's rear, and even, if it should be necessary, force his way into the king's own countries. Christian IV was quite aware of the danger of his position between two such formidable armies. He now declared himself openly for Count Mansfeld, whom he had hitherto denied, and supported him as well as he could. Mansfeld repaid him amply for this service. He alone kept the whole of Wallenstein's forces busy at the Elbe, and prevented them from destroying the king in union with Tilly. He even approached the bridge at Dessau, regardless of the superiority of the enemy, and dared to intrench himself opposite the imperial intrenchments. Attacked in the rear by the entire hostile force, he had to retreat before superior numbers, and leave his post with a loss of 3,000 dead. After this defeat Mansfeld retreated into Brandenburg, where he

gathered new troops, and then suddenly turned to Silesia, in order to penetrate from there into Hungary, where he intended to unite with Bethlen Gabor and carry the war into the heart of the Austrian states. As the imperial dominions were not prepared to defend themselves against such an aggressive enemy, Wallenstein received the urgent order to leave the king of Denmark for the time being, in order to cut Mansfeld off, if possible, on his way to Silesia.

This diversion which was caused by Mansfeld left the king free to send part of his army into the Westphalian country, to occupy the bishoprics of Münster and Osnabrück. To prevent this, Tilly hurriedly left his position at the Weser; the movements of Duke Christian, who had returned from Holland and who showed an intention to penetrate through Hesse into the country of the league and carry the war into this territory, recalled him from Westphalia.

In order not to be cut off from these countries and to bar a dangerous junction of the landgrave of Hesse with the enemy, Tilly swiftly took possession of all tenable places on the rivers Werra and Fulda, as well as the town of Münden on the slopes of the Hessian mountains, where the two rivers converge into the Weser. Shortly after this he conquered the town of Göttingen, the key to Brunswick and Hesse, and had intended the same

fate for Nordheim. The king hastened with his entire army, however, to prevent this. After he had equipped this place with all that was necessary to withstand a long siege, he attempted to make his way into the country of the league through the territories of Eichsfeld and Thuringia, when Tilly, by forced marches, headed him off. As the army of the latter, reënforced by some of the Wallenstein regiments, was far superior in numbers to his own, the king turned back into the Brunswick territory in order to avoid a battle. But on this retreat Tilly pursued him relentlessly, and after a three days' skirmish he had at last to turn and await the enemy near Lutter at Barenberg. The Danes attacked with great bravery, and three times the valiant king led his troops against the enemy; finally, however, he had to give way to superior numbers and better tactics, and the league general won a complete victory. Sixty banners, and the entire artillery, baggage and ammunition were lost; many noble officers lay dead in the field, and about 4,000 private soldiers. Several companies of foot soldiers who had taken refuge in the courthouse in Lutter laid down their arms and surrendered to the victor. The king escaped with his cavalry, and soon rallied after this serious blow. Tilly pursued his victory, took possession of the Weser and of the Brunswick country and drove the king back into the Bremen territory. Intimidated by his defeat,

the latter intended to be on the defensive, and to block the enemy's way across the Elbe. But while he was throwing troops into all the tenable places, he himself remained inactive with a small force; the scattered detachments were in turn dispersed by the enemy or annihilated. The troops of the league, now in possession of the whole of the Weser river, were spreading across the Elbe and Havel and the Danes were driven from one position to another. Tilly himself had crossed the Elbe far into the Brandenburg country, while Wallenstein advanced from the other side into Holstein, carrying the war into the king's own province.

This general had just returned from Hungary, where he had followed Count Mansfeld without being able to stop him in his march or prevent his union with Bethlen Gabor. Always pursued by fate, and always greater than his fate, Mansfeld had luckily forced his way through Silesia and Hungary to Transylvania under enormous difficulties, where, however, he was not very welcome. Trusting upon English assistance and upon a mighty diversion in Lower Saxony, Gabor had again broken the armistice with the emperor, and instead of the expected diversion, Mansfeld now brought in his train the entire force of Wallenstein, and demanded money from him instead of giving him some. This discord among the Protestant princes chilled Gabor's zeal, and he hastened, as

usual, to rid himself of the superior forces of the emperor through a quick conclusion of peace. Firmly resolved to break also this peace again at the first ray of hope, he told Count Mansfeld to ask the republic of Venice for money before doing anything further. Cut off from Germany, and absolutely unable to sustain the weak remnants of his troops in Hungary, Mansfeld sold his guns and ammunition and disbanded his soldiers. He himself, with a small retinue, made his way through Bosnia and Dalmatia to Venice, but his course was finished. Fate, which had been throwing him about in life, had prepared his grave in Dalmatia. Not far from Zara he died (1626). Shortly before, his faithful companion, Duke Christian of Brunswick, had died—two men worthy to be immortalized if they had known how to raise themselves above their period as they did over their fate.

The king of Denmark with his entire power had not been able to resist Tilly; how much less would he be able to oppose with his weakened forces the two imperial generals! The Danes had to give up all their positions on the Weser, Elbe and Havel and the army of Wallenstein poured into Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Holstein and Schleswig like a rapid torrent. This general, too presumptuous to act in unison with another, had sent the commander of the league across the Elbe to watch the Dutch there, but in reality for the purpose of finishing the war

against the king himself and thus earning the fruits of the victories gained by Tilly. All fortified places in his German states, Glückstadt alone excepted, Christian had lost; his armies were beaten or scattered, there was no help from Germany, little encouragement from England, and his allies in Lower Saxony were the prey of the victor's rage. Immediately after the victory at Lutter, Tilly had compelled the landgrave of Hesse Cassel to renounce the Danish alliance. Wallenstein's formidable appearance before Berlin brought the elector of Brandenburg to submission and forced him to acknowledge Maximilian of Bavaria as the rightful elector. The greatest portion of Mecklenburg was now overrun by the imperial troops, both dukes as adherents of the king of Denmark were declared under ban and driven out of their principalities. And yet all these were only the preliminaries of even more outrageous perpetrations which were soon to follow.

Presently the secret of how Wallenstein intended to fulfill his extravagant promises was revealed. He had learned it from the count of Mansfeld, but the pupil had excelled his master. True to the maxim that war has to be supported by itself, Mansfeld and Duke Christian had paid for the upkeep of their troops out of the extortions to which they subjected friend and foe alike, without any discretion, but this career of robbing was also

accompanied by all the tribulations and insecurity of a buccaneering life. If Mansfeld and Duke Christian had accomplished such astonishing deeds struggling with such fearful obstacles, what were the possibilities of achievement if one was free from all these obstacles, if the army which one had enlisted was numerous enough to inspire terror even in the most powerful princes, if the name of the emperor assured immunity to all this violence,—in short, if one carried out the same plan of campaign which these two adventurers had applied at their own risk and with a drummed-up mob under the highest authority in the empire and at the head of a superior army? This was uppermost in Wallenstein's mind when he made his bold offer to the emperor and in this light it will not be judged any more exaggerated. The larger such an army, the less he needed to be concerned about its support; the more glaring the outrages, the greater was the immunity with which they could be committed. Against hostile princes they had a semblance of right, and against friendly ones the pretext of necessity could excuse them. The general indignation divided itself between the emperor who gave his name to these horrors and the supreme commander who overstepped his power and obviously abused the authority of his master. One appealed to the emperor to get protection against his general, but as soon as the latter felt himself all-powerful



Frédéric V. of the Palatinate.
Dutch Painting.

through his troops, he also discarded all obedience to the emperor.

The exhaustion of the enemy made an early peace probable, yet Wallenstein continued to reënforce the imperial armies till at last they reached a strength of about 100,000 men. Officers' commissions without number, a regal state of the general, a boundless waste of money upon his favorites (he never gave less than 1,000 florins to them), incredible sums for bribes at the imperial court to maintain his influence there,—all this was without any encumbrance to the emperor. These immense amounts were drawn from the extortions of the Lower German provinces; no difference was made between friend and foe, passages and billeting of troops were arbitrary alike in all masters' countries; the same applied to blackmail and violence. If one may believe an exaggerated statement on record of those days, Wallenstein had raised in seven years sixty billion thalers in contributions from one-half of Germany. It is true, everything was done in the name of the emperor, but the majesty at the head of the empire was only used by Wallenstein to crush all other authority in Germany. Hence the deliberate principle of this man was to humble the German princes in the most palpable manner, to destroy all relations and distinctions of rank between them and the emperor and to exalt the prestige of the latter above all comparison. To humble two

more princes, Wallenstein demanded the recently conquered province of Mecklenburg for himself as a temporary security until the financial advances which he had made to the emperor during the campaign had been refunded. Ferdinand had already, probably in order to give his general an additional preference over the Bavarian, made him duke of Friedland; however, an ordinary reward could not satisfy the ambition of a Wallenstein. Members of the imperial council protested loudly against this new promotion which was to be made at the expense of two princes; but the powerful party which Wallenstein had bought among the advisers of the emperor kept the upper hand. For a trifling offense the descendants of one of the oldest German generations of princes were deprived of their heritage in order to invest a creature of the imperial favor with the robbery (1628).

Soon after this Wallenstein began to call himself a generalissimo of the emperor by land and by sea. The town of Wismar was conquered and a foothold was gained on the shores of the Baltic. Ships were demanded of Poland and of the Hansa towns to carry the war across the Baltic Sea, to pursue the Danes in the interior of their empire and to force a peace which would pave the way to even greater conquests. The connection of the Lower German princes with the northern empires would be severed if the emperor succeeded in interposing himself

between the two and in surrounding Germany with an uninterrupted chain of countries from the Adriatic to the Sound. If this was the intention of the emperor, Wallenstein had his own particular scheme to carry out. Possessions on the Baltic were to be the foundation of a power to which his ambition had been aspiring for a long time, and which were to enable him to dispense with his master. In order to realize this purpose it was of the utmost importance for him to gain possession of the town of Stralsund on the Baltic. Its excellent harbor, the easy passage from there to the Swedish and Danish coasts, made it particularly suitable for a military base in a war with both crowns. Presently Wallenstein prepared to besiege the town.

It was of equal importance for both northern kings to protect the independence of Stralsund, without which the free ocean traffic in the Belt could not be maintained. The common danger finally overcame the private jealousy which had separated the two kings for a long time. In an agreement at Copenhagen (1628) they promised mutually to hold Stralsund with their united forces and in common to defy all foreign powers which should appear in the Baltic with hostile intentions. Christian IV at once sent a sufficiently strong garrison to Stralsund and strengthened the courage of the citizens by his personal visit. Several men-of-war which King Sigismund of Poland sent to the assist-

ance of the imperial general were sunk by the Danish fleet, and as the town of Lübeck now also refused him its ships, the Imperial Generalissimo-by-Sea did not even have sufficient vessels to block the harbor of a single town. Nothing is more adventurous than the attempt to conquer a seaport which is excellently fortified, without closing in its harbor. Wallenstein, who never had experienced resistance, now also wanted to fight nature and vanquish the impossible. Stralsund, open to the sea, could continue to provide itself with stores and fresh troops; notwithstanding this, however, Wallenstein surrounded it by land and sought to replace the lack of proper means by boastful threats. "I will," he said, "take this town, and if it is chained to the heavens," and continued to harass the beleaguered place by ceaseless storm attacks. As the Danish garrison was already seriously depleted, as furthermore the rest of the people were not equal to the strenuous work and the king was unable to supply a greater number of troops for this town, Stralsund, with the consent of Christian, threw itself into the arms of the king of Sweden. The Danish commander quit the fortress to give his place to a Swedish leader, who defended it with the greatest success. Wallenstein's good fortune failed him before this town, and for the first time his pride experienced the serious reverse of being compelled to renounce his purpose after the

loss of several months and some 12,000 casualties.

Up to the present good fortune had accompanied the arms of the league and of the emperor, and Christian IV, defeated in Germany, had to hide himself on his islands. The Baltic, however, was a limit to these conquests. Fear of interference of foreign powers, threatening movements by the Protestants in his own states, the hitherto tremendous cost of the war, and still more the storm which seemed to loom up in the whole of Protestant Germany, disposed the mind of the emperor toward peace, and his general endeavored to fulfill this desire—although his motives were somewhat different. Far from wishing for a peace which would throw him back into the obscurity of private life, he only intended to change the scene of the war, and through this one-sided peace prolong the confusion. The friendship of Denmark, whose neighbor he had become as duke of Mecklenburg, was very important to him for his far reaching plans. Christian IV had pledged himself in the agreement of Copenhagen not to conclude peace without consulting Sweden. Notwithstanding this, however, the offer which Wallenstein made him was readily accepted. In a congress at Lübeck (1629), from which Wallenstein excluded the Swedish delegates, all countries that had been taken from the Danes were restored to them by the emperor. Christian was to leave the Mecklenburg dukes to their fate,

although he himself had embroiled them in the war with the emperor; he was sacrificing them now in order to please the robbers of their states. With this stain upon his honor, Christian IV withdrew from the scene of action.

For the second time Ferdinand held the peace of Germany in his hands; all he needed to do was to make the peace with Denmark a general one. Germany, through which the devastating hordes of Mansfeld and of Christian of Brunswick, the even more terrible armies of Tilly and of Wallenstein had passed, was exhausted, bleeding and desolate, and longed for rest. The desire for peace was a mighty one with all the princes of the empire, mighty even with the emperor, who, entangled in a war with France in Upper Italy, had been weakened by the struggle in Germany and dreaded the expense which he would have to bear. But unfortunately the terms upon which both religious parties were prepared to sheathe the sword were unreconcilable. The emperor, instead of acting as an arbitrator, took sides, and Germany was once more thrown into the horrors of a war.

CHAPTER III

WALLENSTEIN'S ABDICATION.

WHEN the peace at Lübeck had dispelled all fears of the emperor concerning Denmark, when the Protestants in Germany seemed to be prostrate and the demands of the league became louder and more urgent, Ferdinand signed the notorious restitution edict (1629), after he had laid it before each of the four Catholic electors to be sanctioned by them. In this edict Ferdinand interpreted the religious peace as follows: "That every confiscation made by the Protestants after the date of this peace of direct and indirect chapters was contrary to the meaning of this peace and to be revoked as a violation of same." Furthermore, he decided: "That the religious peace did not impose upon any Catholic sovereign more than a free departure of the Protestant subjects from his country." According to this verdict all unlawful owners of ecclesiastical chapters, that is to say, all Protestant princes, without distinction, were ordered to restore these unlawful possessions to the imperial commissioners forthwith,

under penalty of the imperial ban. Not less than two archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics were on the list, besides an enormous number of monasteries of which the Protestants had taken possession.

This edict came as a thunderbolt for the whole of Protestant Germany; terrible in its immediate effects, and more terrible still in its future threats. The Protestants considered that the destruction of their religion had been determined upon by the emperor and the Catholic League, and that the doom of German liberty would soon follow. Protests were ignored, the commissioners were appointed and an army was drawn together to enforce obedience to them. A beginning was made with Augsburg, where the peace had been concluded; the town was placed again under the jurisdiction of its bishop, and six Protestant churches in it were closed. The duke of Würtemberg had to deliver up his monasteries. The fear of the emperor's power was too great among the Protestant princes to offer active resistance, and some of them began to show that they would yield. The hope, therefore, to effect a fulfillment of their desire in a peaceful way prompted the Catholics to delay the execution of the edict for another year, and this saved the Protestants. Before this term had expired, the fortune of the Swedish arms had changed the whole aspect of the situation. During the convention of the electoral college at Regensburg,

which Ferdinand attended in person (1630), all intended to work earnestly for the pacification of Germany and for the redress of all complaints. The latter were not much less numerous on the part of the Catholics than on that of the Protestants. The harmony between the emperor and the princes of the league had suffered very much since the appearance of Wallenstein. Instead of being the legislator in Germany, and holding the fate of the emperor in his hand, the proud elector of Bavaria suddenly was pushed aside by the imperial general, and his whole former importance vanished with the prestige of the league. The haughty nature of the duke of Friedland, whose greatest triumph was to scoff at the prestige of the princes and to extend the authority of his master in an offensive manner, contributed in a great measure to increase the hostility of the elector. Wallenstein's extortions had increased so as to be well-nigh unbearable. Brandenburg estimated the damage suffered at twenty, Pomerania at ten, Hesse at seven million thalers, the remainder in proportion. Floods of petitions, all directed against Wallenstein, were pouring in upon the frightened emperor with descriptions of the horrible outrages. Ferdinand was not a barbarian; he did not hesitate to comply with the demands of the princes and to dismiss at once 18,000 men of his cavalry in the field. When this reduction was made, the Swedes were already vigorously pre-

paring for their advance into Germany, and the majority of the discharged imperial soldiers rushed to their colors.

This yielding of Ferdinand only served to encourage the elector of Bavaria to bolder demands. The triumph over the emperor was not complete so long as the duke of Friedland remained in supreme command. Wallenstein, informed of the intrigues which were engineered against him at Regensburg, did not fail to open the emperor's eyes to the real intentions of the elector of Bavaria. He appeared in Regensburg himself, but with a pomp which even eclipsed the monarch, and added fresh fuel to the hatred of his opponents.

In this assembly at Regensburg there were also delegates from France, authorized to avoid a war, which was threatening between the emperor and their master in Italy. Duke Vincenz of Mantua and Montferrat had died without leaving any children. His next relative, Karl, duke of Nevers, had at once taken possession of this heritage, without fulfilling the duty which he owed to the emperor as the supreme lord of tenure in these principalities. Depending upon French and Venetian support, he persisted in his refusal to deliver the estates into the hands of the imperial commissioners until the legality of his claim had been decided. Ferdinand sent a German army across the Alps, whose unexpected appearance inspired terror in all Italian

states. The horrors of the German war now also spread over the prosperous plains through which the river Po flows; the town of Mantua was taken by storm, and the whole surrounding country was devastated by the lawless hordes. To the imprecations which were hurled from all parts of Germany against the emperor were now added the curses of Italy, and presently even in the conclave at Rome mute wishes and prayers for the good fortune of the Protestant arms ascended to Heaven.

Frightened by the universal execration which he had called down upon himself by this Italian campaign, the emperor yielded to the proposals of France and promised the tenure to the new duke of Mantua. This important service on the part of Bavaria was worth a service in return on the part of the French. The conclusion of the tractate gave the envoys of Richelieu an opportunity to enmesh the emperor in the most dangerous intrigues during his presence in Regensburg, to inflame the discontented princes of the league more and more against him, and to guide all the deliberations of this electoral assembly to the disadvantage of the emperor. For this purpose Richelieu had chosen an excellent instrument in the person of the Capuchin, Father Joseph, who had been ordered to accompany the envoy, ostensibly as a "disinterested spectator and companion." One of his secret instructions was to

work with the greatest zeal for the removal of Wallenstein. Father Joseph, in an agreement with the elector of Bavaria, undertook to overcome the indecision of the emperor. "It would be wise," he remarked, "to yield to the princes in this matter, in order to get all the sooner their consent to the election of his son to the royal succession. If once this storm had passed over, Wallenstein could quickly be found again to take his former place." The cunning Capuchin was too sure of his man to lose anything by this consoling argument. The voice of a monk was for Ferdinand like the voice of God. "Nothing on earth," writes his own father confessor, "was more sacred to him than a priestly head. If it ever should happen, he often used to say, that an angel and a man of a sacred order would meet him at the same time and at the same place, the ecclesiastical man would get the first and the angel the second bow from him." Wallenstein's removal was decided upon.

Richelieu had already made a treaty with the king of Sweden, encouraged him to war, and urged upon him the alliance of his master, while his envoys pledged France's neutrality to the emperor. He recanted this lie as soon as it had had its effect, and Father Joseph was ordered to a monastery for "exceeding his instructions." Too late Ferdinand recognized how he had been duped. "A wicked Capuchin," people heard him say, "has disarmed me

with his rosary and put no less than six electoral hats in his narrow cowl."

Thus deceit and cunning triumphed over this emperor at a time when he was thought to be all-powerful in Germany.

Wallenstein had the command over an army of about 100,000 men, by whom he was adored, when the verdict of his dismissal was to be announced to him. The majority of the officers were his creatures, his orders the decrees of Fate for the common soldiers. Boundless was his ambition, inflexible his pride, and his masterful mind was not capable of suffering a slight without revenge. One moment was to throw him from the height of his power into the nothingness of a private citizen. Therefore his enemies used the precaution of selecting two of Wallenstein's most intimate friends to carry to him the fateful message, which was to be mitigated by flattering assurances of the continued imperial favor and gratitude.

Wallenstein read the purpose of their visit long before the deputies of the emperor faced him. He had had time to compose himself, and his countenance showed pleasure, while pain and rage were in his breast. But he had resolved to obey. This sentence took him by surprise; the circumstances were not propitious nor were the preparations completed for a bold step. His extensive estates were scattered in Bohemia and Moravia; by confiscating

them the emperor could sever the nerves of his power. He expected his satisfaction from the future, and in this hope he was confirmed by the prophecies of an Italian astrologer, who guided this impetuous mind with ease. Seni, as he was called, had been reading in the stars that the brilliant career of his master would not be finished for some time to come. He need not have troubled the stars to predict this; for with an enemy like Gustavus Adolphus threatening war, such a general as Wallenstein could not remain idle for any length of time.

"The emperor has been betrayed," he answered the delegates; "I am sorry for him, but I forgive him. It is evident that the haughty mind of the Bavarian is dominating him. As a matter of fact, it pains me that he has given me up with so little resistance; however, I am going to obey." He dismissed the delegates with munificent presents, and requested the emperor in a humble letter not to deprive him of his favor and to protect him in his titles and dignities. There was general murmuring in the army when the removal of their leader became known, and the majority of his officers quit the service of the emperor at once. Many followed him to his estates in Bohemia and Moravia, others he attached to himself by considerable pensions, so that he could call upon them immediately should occasion require.

His plan was anything but idleness when he retired into the quietude of a private life. The regal pomp of a king surrounded him in this seclusion and seemed to be a mockery of the sentence of his degradation. Six portals led into his palace which he occupied in Prague, and about a hundred houses had to be pulled down to make room for the castle yard. Similar palaces were built on his other numerous estates. Cavaliers from the noblest families vied for the honor of serving him, and imperial chamberlains returned the golden key to the emperor in order to hold this office with Wallenstein. He kept sixty pages who were instructed by the most excellent masters; his anteroom was always guarded by fifty footmen. His ordinary table never consisted of less than a hundred courses, and his chief butler was a person of high rank. Whenever he traveled in the country his personal effects and his retinue were transported on a hundred wagons, each drawn by four or six horses; his court followed in sixty state coaches with fifty horses. Six barons and as many knights surrounded his person continually to fulfill his slightest wish, and twelve patrols made the round of his palace to prevent all noise. In order to soothe his active brain, no rattling of wagons was permitted near his residence, and frequently the streets were closed with chains.

His whole attitude was as quiet as his sur-

roundings. Gloomy, taciturn and unfathomable as he was, he spared his words more than his presents, and the little he spoke was ejaculated with a repulsive sound. He never laughed and the coldness of his blood overcame the temptation of the senses. Always busy and occupied with great schemes, he avoided all empty dissipations. A correspondence extending all over Europe was attended to by himself; most of his treatises he wrote with his own hand in order not to be compelled to trust to the discretion of others. He was of tall stature, gaunt, and had a yellowish complexion, short reddish hair, and small but sparkling eyes. A formidable, forbidding seriousness was always upon his brow, and only the munificence of his rewards could induce the trembling servants to stay.

In this garish obscurity Wallenstein was awaiting quietly but not inactively his hour and the dawning day of his revenge; soon Gustavus Adolphus's dazzling sweep of victory made him enjoy the anticipation of it. None of his far reaching plans had been given up, and the ingratitude of the emperor had freed him from an irksome fetter. The magnificent splendor of his private life indicated the proud flight of his thoughts, and with the prodigality of a monarch he seemed to count the future realization of his hope already among his actual personal belongings.

CHAPTER IV

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS'S INVASION

AFTER Wallenstein's abdication and Gustavus Adolphus's landing, a new generalissimo had to be appointed, and at the same time it seemed necessary to unite the commands of the imperial and league troops under one leadership. Maximilian of Bavaria was anxious to obtain this important post, which would have made him master of the emperor, but it was this very fear which induced the latter to suggest the king of Hungary, his eldest son, for the post. Finally, to eliminate both these candidates and keep them in good humor, the command was given to the general of the league, Tilly, who now left the Bavarian service for the Austrian. The armies which Ferdinand had on German soil aggregated, after the discharge of the Wallenstein troops, about 40,000 men; the military forces of the league were about the same; both were commanded by excellent officers, trained in many campaigns and proud of a long series of victories. With such a power the imperial government saw no cause to tremble at the approach of the king of Sweden, since Pomerania and Mecklenburg,

which were in the emperor's possession, were the only gates through which he could pass into Germany.

Imperial troops had been sent to the assistance of the Polish king, Sigismund, to defend Prussia against the Swedes. The king, who complained of this hostility to Wallenstein, received the reply: "The emperor had too many soldiers, so he had to use them to help a friend." Wallenstein had excluded the Swedish delegates from the congress at Lübeck with insulting contempt and threatened them with measures that would violate the international law. Ferdinand had insulted the Swedish flag and intercepted dispatches of the king to Transylvania. He continued to render difficult the conclusion of peace between Sweden and Poland to support the arrogant claims of Sigismund to the Swedish throne, and to refuse Gustavus Adolphus the royal title. Repeated remonstrances of the latter had not received the slightest attention other than in the form of additional insults.

This gross injustice in connection with the most important reasons of state and conscience, and strengthened by the most urgent requests from Germany, could not fail to make an impression on the mind of a prince who was the more jealous of his royal honor when people were inclined to question it; who was greatly flattered by the sense of protecting the oppressed, and who loved war

passionately as the proper element of his genius. However, until an armistice or peace with Poland gave him a free hand there could be no thought of a new and hazardous war.

Cardinal Richelieu could claim the merit of bringing about this truce with Poland. This great statesman, holding the helm of the European ship of state in one hand, while with the other he controlled the rage of the factions and the arrogance of the nobles in the interior of France, unfalteringly adhered to his plan to check the growing power of Austria in its proud career. Conditions made such plans hazardous and difficult. Minister of a Catholic state, and himself a prince of the Roman Church, he yet did not dare to attack in alliance with the enemy of his Church a power which had known how to sanctify its ambition through the name of religion. The consideration which Richelieu owed to the narrow views of his contemporaries confined his political activity to the cautious attempts to work in concealment and to let the schemes of his luminous mind be carried out by somebody else. Charnasse, an unsuspected envoy of Richelieu, appeared in Polish Prussia, where Gustavus Adolphus was conducting his campaign against Sigismund, and traveled from one king to the other in order to achieve an armistice or peace between them. Gustavus Adolphus had long been prepared, and at last the French envoy suc-

ceeded also in opening the eyes of King Sigismund to his real interest and the deceitful policy of the emperor. A truce for six years was concluded between the two kings through which Gustavus kept possession of all his conquests and gained the long-desired chance to turn his armed forces against the emperor. The French mediator offered for this undertaking the secret alliance of his king and considerable subsidies which were not to be spurned. However, Gustavus Adolphus did not fear without reason to place himself in a position of dependence upon France which might perhaps hamper him in the midst of a victorious career and awaken distrust among the Protestants by his alliance with a Catholic power.

Urgent and just as this war was, the circumstances under which Gustavus Adolphus undertook it were equally promising. Terrible, it is true, was the name of the emperor, his resources were seemingly inexhaustible and his power had been invincible; any other man than Gustavus Adolphus would have shrunk from so perilous an enterprise. He foresaw all the obstacles and dangers which could beset his path, but he also knew the means by which he hoped to overcome them. His military force was not great, but it was well disciplined and hardened by a severe climate and continuous campaigns, and trained for victory in the Polish war. Sweden, although poor in money and people, and

taxed almost beyond capacity by an eight years' war, was devoted to her king with an enthusiasm that made him hope for the full support of his nobles. In Germany the name of the emperor was hated quite as much as it was feared. The Protestant princes seemed only to wait for the advent of a liberator to shake off the unbearable yoke of tyranny and to declare themselves openly for Sweden. Even to the Catholic princes the appearance of an opponent who was determined to restrict the dominating power of the emperor could not be unwelcome.

The first victory won on German soil would be so decisive for his cause as to bring the still wavering princes to a declaration, strengthen the courage of his adherents, increase the rush to his colors, and open rich resources for the continuation of the war. If most of the German states had hitherto suffered greatly under the oppressions, the wealthy Hansa towns had so far been spared and could not possibly hesitate to avert a general ruin by a voluntary moderate sacrifice. The untimely departure of troops to Italy and the Netherlands had diminished the power of the emperor; Spain, weakened by the loss of her American silver fleet and occupied by a serious war in the Netherlands, could afford him only little support. On the other hand, Great Britain made the king of Sweden hope for considerable subsidies,

and France, which just at this time was about to restore peace within its borders, made him advantageous offers of assistance. But the safest guarantee for the success of his enterprise Gustavus Adolphus found in—himself.

Prudence required that he assure himself of all possible outside assistance, but from his own breast he took his confidence and his courage. Gustavus Adolphus was, beyond all question, the foremost military commander of his century and the bravest soldier in the army which he himself created. Familiar with the tactics of the Greeks and Romans, he invented a better one which served as a model to the greatest commanders of later periods. He diminished the large and clumsy squadrons in order to make the movements of the cavalry easier and swifter, and for this purpose he also placed the battalions farther away from each other. He arranged his army, which usually occupied only a single line, in a double array of battle, so that the second one could advance when the first was brought to retreat. He managed to counteract the lack of cavalry by putting foot soldiers between the horsemen, and this plan frequently decided the victory.

The importance of infantry in battles Europe had learned from Gustavus. All Germany admired the discipline by which the Swedish armies distinguished themselves on German soil in the first

war. Excesses were severely punished, as were blasphemy, robbery, gambling and dueling. Moderation was enjoined in the Swedish martial law; no one saw any silver or gold in the Swedish camps, not even in the tent of the king. The eye of the general watched with the same care over the moral of the soldier that it did over his bravery. Every regiment had to form a circle round its chaplain for the morning and evening prayer and divine service in the open. In all this, he who laid down the law was a shining example himself. A natural fear of God supplemented the courage which inspired his great heart. Equally free from the crude unbelief which arises from the primitive instincts of the barbarian, and from the cringing bigotry of a Ferdinand who humbled himself before the Deity and defiantly rode on the neck of humanity, he remained a man and a Christian even in the intoxication of his success, but also a hero and king in his devoutness.

While the Protestants were in no doubt about the necessity of this war, they questioned the manner in which it should be conducted. An offensive campaign seemed too hazardous a venture even to the courageous Swedish chancellor, Oxenstierna, and the powers of his impecunious and conscientious king too inadequate in comparison with the immense resources of a despot who was ruling in Germany as if it were his personal property.

The timorous doubts of the minister were dispelled by the more penetrating cleverness of the hero. "If we await the enemy in Sweden," said Gustavus Adolphus, "then all is lost if a battle is lost; all is won, however, if we make a lucky beginning in Germany. The ocean is large, and we have to guard an extensive coast line in Sweden. Should the hostile fleet escape us, or should ours be defeated, it would be a vain undertaking to prevent the landing of the enemy. Everything depends for us upon holding Stralsund. As long as this harbor remains open to us, we can maintain our prestige in the Baltic and keep a free traffic with Germany. But in order to protect Stralsund, we must not hide ourselves in Sweden but land in Pomerania with an army. So, please, do not talk any more to me of a defensive war by which we would forfeit our most glorious advantages. Sweden herself must not set her eyes on a hostile banner, and should we be defeated in Germany, then there is still time to carry out your plan."

It was therefore decided to cross over to Germany and attack the emperor. Preparations were made with the utmost speed and the measures which Gustavus Adolphus devised showed no less caution than did the decision itself in boldness and grandeur. At a personal meeting with the king of Denmark at Markaroed, Gustavus Adolphus assured himself of this monarch's friendship; the frontiers against

Russia were covered; Sigismund of Poland could be kept in fear from Germany if he should decide to violate the truce. A Swedish negotiator, von Falkenberg, who visited Holland and the German courts, brought to his master the most flattering congratulations on the part of several Protestant princes, although none of them possessed enough courage and self-denial to enter into a formal alliance with him. The towns of Lübeck and Hamburg showed themselves ready to advance money and to accept Swedish copper in lieu of repayment. Trusty delegates were sent to the prince of Transylvania to induce this implacable enemy of Austria to take up arms against the emperor.

Meanwhile, Swedish places of enlistment were opened in the Netherlands and in Germany, the regiments were brought up to their full strength, and new ones formed; ships were chartered, the fleet was adequately equipped; provisions, war requirements and money were collected as rapidly as possible. Thirty men-of-war were soon ready to sail, an army of 15,000 men was mobilized and 200 transports were on hand to transfer them to Germany. Gustavus Adolphus did not wish to lead a larger force into Germany, since its support would have exceeded the resources of his kingdom. But small as this army was, it was splendid in discipline, courage and warlike experience, and would make a fine nucleus for a larger

military body when he had reached Germany, and fortune had favored his first beginning. Oxenstierna, who was both general and chancellor, was in Prussia with about 10,000 men to be used in defense against Poland. Regular troops and a considerable corps of militia, which served as a training school for the main army, remained in Sweden, in order that a treacherous neighbor might not find the kingdom unprepared in case of a surprise raid.

Thus all preparations were made for the defense of the realm. Gustavus Adolphus showed the same care in the arrangement of the home government. The regency was conferred upon the councilors, the finances upon the count of the Palatinate, Johann Casimir, brother-in-law of the king; and his consort, as tenderly as he loved her, was relieved of all government affairs to which her limited capacities were not equal. He settled his affairs as if about to die. On May 20, 1630, after all preparations had been finished and every one was ready to depart, the king appeared in the diet at Stockholm to bid a solemn farewell to the nobles. There he took his four-year-old daughter (who had already been declared his successor, in her cradle) in his arms, showed her to the representatives as the future queen and had the oath of allegiance repeated to her in case he should not return; he then proclaimed how everything concerning the government was to be managed during

his absence or the minority of his daughter. All the assembly was in tears and the king himself required some time to compose himself for his farewell address to the assembly.

"Not wantonly," he began, "do I plunge myself and you into this new and hazardous war. Almighty God is my witness that I do not fight for the sake of sport. The emperor has cruelly insulted me in the person of my ambassadors, he has supported my enemies, he is persecuting my friends and brethren, he tramples my religion in the dust, and is reaching out his hand for my crown. The humiliated princes of Germany implore us most urgently for help and, if it pleases God, we will give it to them. I know the dangers to which my life will be exposed. I have never avoided them before, and I cannot hope to escape them entirely. But the Almighty has protected me wonderfully up to this day, and if finally I have to die in the defense of my native country, I commend you to the protection of Heaven. Be just, be conscientious, let your lives be immaculate and we shall meet again in eternity. First I turn to you, my dear councilors. May God enlighten you and give you wisdom to advise always the best in my kingdom. Also you, my brave nobility, I commend to the divine protection; may you continue to prove yourselves worthy descendants of those heroic Goths whose bravery threw ancient Rome into the dust. You, my servants of the

Church, I admonish to conciliation and harmony; be models of the virtue which you preach and never misuse your authority over the hearts of my people. Upon you, deputies of the citizens and peasants, I invoke the blessing of Heaven, a joyful harvest for your industriousness, well filled barns and an abundance of all the necessities of life. For all of you who are present and absent, I am sending up my fervent prayers to Heaven. I bid you all a hearty farewell. Perhaps it is a farewell forever."

At Elfsnaben, where the fleet was anchored, the embarkation of the troops took place; a tremendous crowd of people had gathered to witness this great and pathetic spectacle. Among the high officers who were commanders in this army were: Gustav Horn, Rheingraf Otto Ludwig, Heinrich Matthias count of Thurn, Ortenburg, Baudissen, Banner, Teufel, Tott, Mutsenfahl, Falkenberg, Knyphausen and others who in the months to follow made glorious names for themselves. The fleet, delayed by contrary winds, could sail only in June, and on the 24th of that month reached the island of Rügen on the coast of Pomerania. Gustavus Adolphus was the first to go ashore. Under the eyes of his followers he knelt down upon German soil and thanked the Almighty for His protection of his army and of his fleet. He landed his troops on the islands of Usedom and Wollin; the imperial gar-

ri son immediately abandoned their intrenchments at his approach and fled.

His very first entrance into Germany was that of conquest. With much speed he appeared before Stettin to assure himself of that important place before the imperial troops could forestall him. Bogisla XIV, duke of Pomerania, a weak and senile prince, had been tiring for a long time of the atrocities which the imperial troops had committed in his country, but was too powerless to offer resistance. The appearance of his rescuer, instead of reviving his courage, filled him with fear and misgiving.

He did not dare to rouse the revenge of the emperor by openly favoring the Swedes. Gustavus Adolphus, camping under the guns of Stettin, demanded that the town accept a Swedish garrison. Bogisla himself appeared in the royal camp to protest against it. "I am coming to you as a friend, not as an enemy," answered Gustavus; "not with Pomerania, not with the German empire, only with their enemies I go to war. In my hands this dukedom shall be kept sacred and safe and you shall have it restored to you after the termination of the war. You see the tracks of the imperial troops in your country, you see the marks of mine in Usedom; now choose, if you want to have me as a friend or the emperor. What do you expect in case the emperor should take possession of your town? Is

he going to act more leniently with it than I? Or are you going to put a limit to my victories? The matter is urgent, make your resolution and do not force me to take more effective measures." It was a painful choice for the duke of Pomerania. Here was the king of Sweden, with a formidable army, before the gates of his capital; on the other hand, there was the unavoidable revenge of the emperor and the terrible example of so many German princes who were wandering about in dire misery as the victims of this revenge. The more urgent danger finally decided him. The gates of Stettin were opened to the king, Swedish troops entered, and the imperialists, who were already hurrying in forced marches to the scene, had been forestalled.

The occupation of Stettin meant a firm foothold for the king in Pomerania, the use of the river Oder, and a base for his army. Duke Bogisla did not fail to excuse the measure to the emperor as a necessity in order to anticipate the reproach of treachery, but as he was convinced of the implacability of this monarch, he entered into a close alliance with his new protector against the revenge of Austria. Gustavus Adolphus had won through this alliance with Pomerania an important friend on German soil who was covering his rear and keeping open the communication with Sweden. Gustavus Adolphus deemed himself above the cus-

tomary formalities toward Ferdinand, who had attacked him in Prussia first and begun hostilities without a formal declaration of war. He justified his attitude in a manifesto to the European princes by citing all the reasons which had induced him to take up arms. Meanwhile, he continued his progress in Pomerania and every day saw an increase in his armies. Troops which had fought under Mansfeld, Duke Christian of Brunswick, the king of Denmark, and Wallenstein, both officers and privates, presented themselves in crowds to serve under his victorious colors.

The invasion of the king of Sweden was not deemed worthy the attention at the imperial court which it roused a little later. The Austrian pride, at its climax of success, looked down with contempt upon a prince who emerged from an obscure corner of Europe with a handful of men, and whose former military fame probably was due only to the inexperience of a still weaker enemy. The sneering description which Wallenstein, not without reason, had given of the Swedish power increased the emperor's feeling of security. How could he respect an enemy whom his field marshal had offered to chase out of Germany with a stick? Even the rapid progress of Gustavus Adolphus in Pomerania could not quite conquer this prejudice which gave continued cause for sarcastic remarks on the part of the courtiers. In Vienna they always called him

the "Snow Majesty," whom the cold climate of the North was now keeping together, but who would melt away quickly the further South he marched. The electors, assembled in Regensburg, did not pay any attention to his messages and even refused him the title of "king," in order thus to please Ferdinand. While the people in Regensburg and Vienna were scoffing at him, one fortified place after another surrendered to him in Pomerania and Mecklenburg.

Notwithstanding this open disdain, the emperor had been induced to negotiate with Sweden, and for this purpose also to send his delegates to Danzig. However, it could be seen in their instructions that the emperor was not very much in earnest about it, as he continued to refuse Gustavus Adolphus the title of a king. His intention seemed to be to place the odium of aggression upon the king of Sweden, in order to count more certainly upon the support of the princes. As was to be expected, the congress at Danzig ended in failure, and the exasperation of both parties was aggravated by the violent correspondence.

An imperial general, Torquato Conti, who commanded the army in Pomerania, had in the meantime tried unsuccessfully to wrench Stettin from the hands of the Swedes. The imperialists were driven out of place after place; Damm, Stargard, Camin, and Wolgast fell in quick succession into the

hands of the king. To revenge himself upon the duke of Pomerania, the general had his troops perpetrate the most horrible outrages against the inhabitants of Pomerania. Under the pretext of taking all provisions from the Swedes, everything was ransacked and looted, and often, when the imperialists could not hold a place longer, they laid it in ashes and left nothing but the smoking ruins to the enemy. However, these barbarities only served to place the moderation of the Swedes in a still more favorable light, and to win all hearts for the humane king. The Swedish soldier paid for everything he needed, and nothing of the people's property was ever touched on their marches. Therefore the Swedish armies were received with open arms in the country and in the towns; all imperial soldiers who fell into the hands of the Pomeranian country people were killed without mercy. Many Pomeranians entered Swedish service, and the nobles of that exhausted country were prepared to tender the king a contribution of 100,000 florins.

Torquato Conti, who despite his ruthless character was an excellent general, endeavored to make the possession of Stettin useless to the king of Sweden, whom he was not able to drive out of this place. He intrenched himself at Garz, to the north of Stettin on the Oder, where he could dominate that river, and cut off the communication of the town with the rest of Germany. Nothing could

induce him to fight the king of Sweden, who had a much superior army; and the latter could still less succeed in storming the imperial intrenchments. Torquato, not having enough troops to take the offensive against the king, thought with this plan of operation to give Count Tilly time to hurry to the defense of Pomerania, whereupon both of them would assail the Swedes. Once even he utilized the absence of the king to attack Stettin by a sudden raid. But the Swedes were well prepared, and Torquato retreated after suffering a heavy loss.

It cannot be denied that Gustavus Adolphus had to thank his good luck as much as his warlike experience for this auspicious beginning. The imperial troops had degenerated considerably since the abdication of Wallenstein. Their former excesses now avenged themselves upon them; an exhausted, devastated country could not afford them any more support. All discipline was gone; there was no more respect for the commands of the officers; their numbers were visibly depleted by desertions and numerous deaths, caused by the biting cold of the frigid climate. Under these circumstances the imperial general longed for rest to recuperate his troops in their winter quarters, but he had now to deal with an enemy for whom there was no winter in Germany. As a precaution, Gustavus Adolphus had provided his soldiers with sheep's skins in order that

he could continue in the field during the rough season. The imperial delegates who arrived to negotiate for an armistice received the disheartening reply: "The Swedes were soldiers in the winter as well as in the summer and not inclined to squeeze the poor farmers; the imperialists could do as they pleased, but they did not propose to rest." Torquato Conti soon after this resigned his commission.

The imperialists were harassed incessantly in their winter quarters; Greifenhagen, an important place on the Oder, was conquered by storm and finally the towns of Garz and Pyritz were evacuated by the enemy. Of the whole of Pomerania, only Greifswald, Demmin and Kolberg were still in their possession, for the siege of which the king began to make preparations without delay. The fleeing enemy made his way to Brandenburg, not without severe losses in artillery, baggage and men, which fell into the hands of the pursuing Swedes.

Through the occupation of the passes near Ribnitz and Damgarten, Gustavus Adolphus had forced an entry into the duchy of Mecklenburg, whose inhabitants were summoned by a manifesto to return under the sovereignty of their rightful regent and to drive out all that pertained to Wallenstein. Through trickery, however, the imperialists secured possession of the important town of Rostock, which prevented the king, who did not like to divide his forces, from advancing further.

In vain the deposed dukes of Mecklenburg had in the meantime requested the assembled princes at Regensburg to interpose with the emperor in their favor; in vain they had spurned an alliance with the Swedes in order to conciliate the emperor. Brought to despair by his stubborn refusal, they now took the part of the king of Sweden openly, enlisted troops and gave the command over them to Duke Karl of Saxony-Lauenburg. The duke seized several fortified places on the Elbe, but soon lost them again to the imperial general, Pappenheim, who had been sent against him. Shortly after this, besieged by the latter in the town of Ratzeburg, he was compelled to surrender with his entire force as prisoners, after a futile attempt at flight. Thus the hope of the dukes of Mecklenburg to be reinstated in their countries vanished once more, and it was left to the victorious arms of Gustavus Adolphus alone to render them this service.

The fleeing imperial troops had thrown themselves upon Brandenburg, which now suffered under their atrocities. Not satisfied to impose the most arbitrary war contributions and to oppress the citizens by billeting troops upon them, these monsters were also ransacking the homes, smashing and breaking open everything that was under lock, robbing all they could find, maltreating everyone who dared to resist, in the most fearful manner, and outraging women even in the most sacred places. And

all this did not even happen in the enemy's country, —it was perpetrated against the subjects of a prince whom the emperor expected to take up arms against the Swedes. The sight of all these horrible excesses which they had to suffer on account of their loss of prestige and want of money roused even the fury of the imperial generals, and their commander-in-chief, count of Schaumburg, was ready to resign. Left without any help from the emperor, the elector of Brandenburg finally ordered his subjects in an edict to oppose force with force and to murder without mercy every imperial soldier who was caught looting.

The imperialists had drawn the Swedes after them into Brandenburg, and only the refusal of the elector to open the fortress of Küstrin for the marching through of troops had restrained the king from besieging Frankfort-on-the-Oder. He turned back to finish the conquest of Pomerania by taking possession of Demmin and Kolberg; meanwhile Field Marshal Tilly was advancing to defend Brandenburg. This general, who could boast of never having lost a battle, the conqueror of Mansfeld, Christian of Brunswick, the margrave of Baden, and the king of Denmark, presently was to find a doughty opponent in the king of Sweden.

Tilly was far from underrating his adversary. "The king of Sweden," he declared in the electoral assembly at Regensburg, "is an enemy with as great

cleverness as bravery, hardened to the campaign and in the prime of his life. His preparations are excellent, his resources not at all inadequate and the nobles in his empire have been extremely helpful to him. His army, composed of Swedes, Germans, Livonians, Finns, Scotsmen and Englishmen, has been made into one nationality through blind obedience. He is a player against whom not to have lost means to have won a great deal."

CHAPTER V

THE LOOTING OF MAGDEBURG AND TILLY'S DEFEAT

THE progress of the king of Sweden in Brandenburg and Pomerania prompted the new generalissimo not to lose any time and the generals in command there were urgently requesting his presence. With the utmost possible speed he drew together the imperial troops which were scattered all over Germany, but it took a long time to collect the necessary war requirements from the impoverished provinces. At last he appeared in midwinter at the head of 20,000 men before Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where he united with the remnants of the troops of Count Schaumburg. He commissioned this general with the defense of Frankfort, with a sufficiently strong garrison, and he himself intended to hurry to Pomerania to save Demmin and relieve Kolberg, which was on the verge of being taken by the Swedes. But even before he left Brandenburg, Demmin, badly defended by Duke Savelli, had surrendered to the king, and Kolberg also fell, after a five months' siege. As the roads to Pomerania were excellently guarded

and the fortified camp of the king at Schwedt defied all attacks, Tilly abandoned his initial offensive and retreated upon the Elbe to besiege Magdeburg.

The occupation of Demmin gave the king a free hand to penetrate into Mecklenburg, but a more important undertaking drew his forces to another territory. Hardly had Tilly begun his retreat when the king suddenly broke up his camp at Schwedt and advanced with his entire army against Frankfort-on-the-Oder. This town was poorly fortified, but defended by a garrison of 8,000 men, mostly remnants of those savage hordes who had maltreated Pomerania and Brandenburg. The attack was made with speed and vigor and on the third day the town was conquered by storm. The Swedes, sure of their victory, rejected capitulation although a parley was sounded twice by the enemy, in order to exercise the terrible right of retribution. For Tilly had, immediately after his arrival in these districts, intercepted a belated Swedish garrison in Neu-Brandenburg, and, exasperated by their resistance, had them sabered down to the last man. Now the Swedes remembered this cruelty when Frankfort was about to be taken. "Neu-Brandenburg quarter," they answered every imperial soldier who begged for his life and dispatched him without mercy. Several thousand men were slain or captured, many were drowned in the river Oder, and the rest escaped to Silesia; the entire artillery fell

into Swedish hands. To yield to the impetuosity of his soldiers, Gustavus Adolphus had to allow them a pillage of three hours' duration.

While this king was hurrying from victory to victory, and the courage of the Protestants was reviving and their resistance grew more spirited, the emperor severely tried the patience of the princes by the execution of the restitution edict and arrogant impositions. Necessity now forced him to continue the outrageous measures which he had at first adopted from sheer wantonness; the embarrassments in which his arbitrary procedures had placed him, could only be solved by equally arbitrary means. But in such an elaborately organized body-politic as the German state is and always was, the hand of despotism must cause fatal disruptions. The astonished princes saw the imperial constitution ignored, and the overt actions of the emperor against the Protestant Church had finally opened Johann Georg's eyes. Ferdinand had personally insulted him by excluding his son from the arch chapter of Magdeburg, and Field Marshal von Arnheim, his new favorite and minister, omitted nothing to offend the sensitiveness of his master. Formerly imperial general under the command of Wallenstein, and still the devoted friend of the latter, he sought to revenge his old benefactor and himself upon the emperor, and to draw the elector of Saxony from the side of the Austrians. The ar-

rival of the Swedes in Germany had to supply the means for this. Gustavus Adolphus was invincible as soon as the Protestant principals joined him, and nothing could be more alarming for the emperor. The example of electoral Saxony might prompt the others to emulate it, and the fate of the emperor seemed, to a certain degree, to be in the hands of Johann Georg. The cunning favorite made the ambition of his master cognizant of his importance, and advised to frighten the emperor by threatening an alliance with the Swedes, in order to accomplish by fear what could not be obtained by gratitude. However, he recommended not to conclude the alliance with the Swedes in reality, in order that he might remain always an important factor and thus keep his freedom. He inspired him with enthusiasm for the plan of drawing to himself the entire party of the Protestants, to establish a third power in Germany, and to hold the decision between Sweden and Austria. The plan may have been good, but Johann Georg was not the man to carry it out.

He resolved, however, to draw all possible advantage from the progress of the Swedish king, but to pursue his own plans independent from the latter. For this purpose he had a discussion with the elector of Brandenburg, who was indignant with the emperor for similar reasons and who also mistrusted the Swedes. After he assured himself of the needed



Cardinal Richelieu.

consent of his own nobles, in a diet at Torgau, he invited all the Protestant princes in the empire to appear at a general convention which was to be opened on the 6th of February, 1631, at Leipzig. Brandenburg, Hesse-Cassel, several princes, counts, imperial nobles and Protestant bishops appeared in this assembly either in person or represented by delegates, and the Saxon court chaplain Dr. Hoe von Hohenegg opened the proceedings with an inflammatory address from the pulpit. In vain the emperor endeavored to prevent this meeting which was obviously aimed at self-defense and which was a serious matter in the presence of the Swedes in Germany. The assembled princes, encouraged by the victories of Gustavus Adolphus, insisted on their rights and adjourned after a session of two months with a remarkable resolution which placed the emperor in a quandary. The resolution emphatically requested the emperor to cancel the restitution edict, to withdraw his troops from their garrisons and fortresses, abolish the executions and give redress for previous abuses; furthermore, it provided for an army of 40,000 men to enforce these rights in case the emperor should refuse them. One circumstance was added which contributed considerably to strengthen the determination of the Protestant princes. The king of Sweden had at last overcome the doubts which had formerly prevented him from entering into a closer alliance with France,

and on January 13, 1631, he concluded a formal alliance with this crown. Both powers pledged themselves to reciprocal protection with their armed forces, to defend their mutual friends, to assist the deposed imperial princes in regaining their lost countries, and to restore at the frontiers as well as in the interior of Germany everything as it had been before the outbreak of the war. For this purpose the Swedes were to support an army of 30,000 men in Germany at their own expense; on the other hand France was to pay Sweden an annual subsidy of 400,000 German thalers. Should fortune favor the Swedish arms, the Catholic religion and the laws of the empire were to be sacred in the conquered places, and nothing should be undertaken against either; all nobles and princes in and outside of Germany, even the Catholics, should have the option to join this alliance, no party was allowed to conclude a one-sided peace with the enemy without the knowledge of the other party, and the alliance was to last five years.

This French alliance was necessary to the king on account of his affairs in Germany. It was not until he was protected by the most respected power in Europe that the German princes began to have confidence in his undertaking, the success of which they had until then doubted. The emperor even began to feel frightened.

The king of Sweden did not fail to inform the

princes of the Leipzig convention of the agreement which he had concluded with France, and at the same time to invite them to a closer alliance with him. France supported him and spared no efforts to convince the elector of Saxony that Gustavus Adolphus would be content with secret support, in case the princes should deem it still too risky to declare themselves openly for his party. Several princes promised to accept his proposals, as soon as they had removed all obstacles in their way; Johann Georg, always jealous and full of mistrust toward the king of Sweden, and always true to his own selfish policy, could not arrive at a decision.

The Leipzig convention and the alliance between France and Sweden were bad tidings for the emperor. Against the former he used the thunder of his imperial decrees, but he needed an army to show France the error of its ways. Admonishing letters were sent to all the participators in the Leipzig meeting which forbade them to enlist troops. They replied with counter complaints, vindicated their attitude and continued to prepare.

Meanwhile the generals of the emperor, lacking both troops and money, were compelled either to withdraw their attention from the king of Sweden or from the German princes, as they could not attack both with divided forces. The movements of the Protestants drew their attention to the interior of

the empire; the progress of the king in Brandenburg demanded their military interference most urgently in those regions. After the conquest of Frankfort the king had turned against Landsberg-on-the-Warthe, and Tilly, after a belated attempt to save this town, returned to Magdeburg to continue in earnest the siege begun earlier in the struggle.

The wealthy archbishopric, whose chief town was the town of Magdeburg, had been for a long time in the possession of the Lutheran princes of the Brandenburg dynasty who introduced there also their religion. Christian Wilhelm, the last administrator, had been placed under the imperial ban because of his alliance with Denmark, and the chapter was compelled formally to divest him of his dignity in order not to provoke the emperor's revenge upon itself. Johann August, second son of the elector of Saxony, was appointed to the office, but rejected by the emperor, who wished to play this chapter into the hands of his own son Leopold. The elector of Saxony was addressing useless complaints to the imperial court, but Christian Wilhelm took sterner measures. Assured of the affection of the people and the magistrate of Magdeburg, and inspired by chimerical hopes, he expected to be able to overcome all obstacles which were in the way of its restoration. He made a journey to Sweden, to secure the support of Gustavus Adolphus under the promise of an important diversion in Germany. This king did not

dismiss him without giving him hope of his vigorous protection, but urged him to act with prudence and caution.

No sooner had Christian Wilhelm heard of the landing of his protector in Pomerania than he stole into the town of Magdeburg under a disguise. Suddenly he appeared in a meeting of the council, reminded the magistrate of all the misery which the town and the surrounding district had suffered at the hands of the imperial troops, of the pernicious designs of Ferdinand, and of the danger to the Lutheran Church. After this introduction he revealed to them that the time of their liberation had come, and that Gustavus Adolphus offered them his alliance and entire support. An alliance was formed between the city and the king of Sweden under the terms of which the Magdeburgers permitted the king free passage through their territory and town, and the privilege of enlisting troops on their ground, while they received the assurance that they would be protected in their religion and privileges.

The administrator at once gathered a military force and began hostilities before Gustavus Adolphus was near enough to support him with his troops. He succeeded in defeating some imperial corps in the neighborhood; made several little conquests, and even took the town of Halle by surprise. However, the approach of an imperial army soon forced him to retreat hurriedly and not without

losses upon Magdeburg. Gustavus Adolphus, although displeased with this rash action, sent him an experienced officer in the person of Dietrich von Falkenberg, to conduct operations and to assist the administrator with his advice. The magistrate appointed Falkenberg commander of the town for the duration of the war. Their army increased from day to day by the rush from the neighboring towns; it gained several advantages over the imperial regiments which had been sent against it, and was able to carry on a local campaign for several months with success.

Finally Count von Pappenheim was approaching after he had ended his campaign against the duke of Saxony-Lauenburg; within a short time he drove the troops of the administrator out of all their intrenchments, cut off all communication with Saxony, and seriously prepared to invest the town. Soon after him Tilly also arrived; he commanded the administrator in a threatening letter not to resist the restitution edict any longer, to submit to the imperial commands and to surrender Magdeburg. The reply of the prince was a spirited and bold one, and prompted the imperial field marshal to attack with his whole armed forces. The siege, however, was delayed temporarily on account of the progress of the king of Sweden which recalled the general from the town, and the jealousy of the generals who were commanding during his absence gave Magde-

burg a respite of several months. At last, on the 30th of March, 1631, Tilly appeared once more to press the siege with vigor.

All the outer fortifications were conquered within a short time, and Falkenberg himself had withdrawn the garrisons which could not be saved, and demolished the bridge across the Elbe. As there was a lack of troops to defend this extensive fortress with all its suburbs, those of Sudenburg and Neustadt were also given up to the enemy, who at once laid them in ashes. Pappenheim separated from Tilly, crossed the Elbe near Schönebeck, and attacked the town from the other side.

The garrison, weakened by the fights around the outer works, did not number more than 2,000 infantry and several hundred horsemen, a very small number for such a large and extensive fortress. To replace this want the citizens were armed, a desperate expedient which did greater harm than it could prevent, finally breaking out in a general complaint; indifference took the place of zeal, weariness and negligence prevailed in the service instead of a cautious vigilance. This discord among the people, coupled with the increasing distress, gradually gave place to a faint-heartedness, so that many began to be alarmed over the temerity of their undertaking and to tremble before the omnipotence of the emperor against whom they were fighting. However, the religious fanaticism, the fervent love

for freedom, the invincible hatred for the name of the emperor, and the hope of early relief banished all thoughts of surrender. This hope of the besieged to be relieved was based upon the highest probability. They knew all about the arming of the Leipzig Union, they knew the Swedish king was approaching; to both the holding of Magdeburg was of equal importance and a few days' march could bring the king of Sweden before their walls. All these facts were not unknown to Tilly and he hastened to make himself master of Magdeburg by whatever means this could be done. He had sent a trumpeter with various communications to the administrator, the commander, and to the magistrate, only to receive the answer they would rather die than surrender. A vigorous sally of the citizens showed him that the courage of the besieged was anything but declining, and the arrival of the king in Potsdam, the expeditions of the Swedes even as far as Zerbst could not fail to alarm him and fill the Magdeburgers with great hopes. A second trumpeter whom he sent and the moderate tone of his letters strengthened them in their conviction,—but only to lull them into greater security.

Meanwhile Tilly's troops had advanced to the city moat and from their batteries kept up a lively bombardment of the walls and of the towers. One of the latter collapsed entirely; however this did not facilitate the attack as it did not fall into

the moat but remained leaning sideways against the wall. But the powder of the besieged gave out and gradually the guns of the fortress ceased answering the enemy. Before fresh powder could be ready again Magdeburg must be relieved, or all would be lost. The hope of the town was now at its highest and longing glances were turned in the direction from which the Swedish banners were expected. Gustavus Adolphus was near enough to be able to arrive before Magdeburg on the third day. The feeling of safety increased and everything contributed to strengthen it. On the 9th of May the bombardment ceased unexpectedly and from several batteries the guns were removed. The silence of the grave prevailed in the enemy's camp. Everything convinced the besieged that their rescue was close at hand. The greater part of the citizens' and soldiers' guard quit their posts on the walls in the early morning to enjoy at last a rest after such long and strenuous work. But what a terrible awakening!

Tilly had finally abandoned all hope of capturing the town before the arrival of the Swedes, and determined to break up his camp, but before doing so, to venture upon another general assault. The difficulties were great, for no breach had been made as yet and the fortifications were hardly damaged. But the council of war which he assembled voted for the attack and cited the example

of the town of Mastricht, which had been overwhelmed early in the morning when the citizens and soldiers had retired for their rest. The attack was to be launched simultaneously from four sides, and the whole of the night between the 9th and 10th of May was spent in making the necessary preparations. Everybody was ready and expected the signal of the guns at 5 o'clock in the morning according to the arrangement. But this did not come until two hours later, for Tilly, still in doubt about the success of the assault, had again assembled the council of war. Pappenheim was ordered to make the attack on the Neustadt fortifications; here a slanting wall and a rather shallow moat stood him in good stead. The greater part of the citizens and soldiers had left the wall, and the few who remained were overcome by sleep. So it was not difficult for the General to mount the wall. Falkenberg, roused by the report of the muskets, was hurrying from the town hall with a hastily drummed-up party to the Neustadt gate, which the enemy already had in his possession. Defeated at this point, the brave general fled to the other side, where a second hostile party was in the act of climbing the fortifications. His resistance was futile, and early in the beginning of the fight the bullets of the enemy brought him low. The sharp firing of muskets, the clangor of the alarm bells, the rapidly increasing din, at last told the awakening citizens the frightful danger. Hastily they

donned their clothes, grasped their guns, and in blind bewilderment made a rush for the enemy. There was yet hope of repulsing him; but the commander had been killed, there was no system in the attack, no cavalry to charge into the confused ranks of the foe, and finally, no more powder was left. All fortifications were captured before noon, and the town was in the hands of the enemy.

Two gates were forced open by the storming troops of the main army, and Tilly ordered his infantry to march into the town. At once he took possession of the main streets and the mounted guns drove all citizens into their homes, there to await their fate. They were not left in doubt very long; two words of Count Tilly decided the fate of Magdeburg. Even a more humane general would have vainly ordered such troops to spare the inhabitants, therefore Tilly did not even trouble himself to attempt it. Made unrestricted masters over the lives of all the citizens by the silence of their general, the soldiers rushed into the interior of the houses to indulge unrestrainedly in all the excesses of bestial souls. The imploring voice of innocence found a merciful ear with many German soldiers, but none with the dumb rage of the Walloons from Pappenheim's army. No sooner had this massacre begun than all the gates were opened and the entire cavalry and the terrible Croatian hordes were let loose upon the doomed town.

A scene of slaughter now followed which no pen can describe nor no imagination picture. Neither the innocence of childhood, nor the helplessness of age; neither youth, nor sex, nor class, nor beauty could disarm the fiendish rage of the victors. Wives were tortured in the arms of their husbands, and daughters at the feet of their fathers. No spot that was ever so cleverly hidden; no place that was ever so sacred, was safe against the monsters. Fifty-three women were found decapitated in one church. Croatian soldiers threw children into the flames for a pastime, and Pappenheim's Walloons speared babies sucking at their mothers' breasts. Several league officers, disgusted by this revolting spectacle, ventured to ask Tilly to stop this carnage. "Come back in an hour," was his reply, "and I will see what I can do. The soldier wants something for his risk and his work."

In uninterrupted fury these horrors continued until at last smoke and flames put a stop to them. In order to increase the confusion and to break the resistance of the town people, fire had been set in the beginning to various points. Presently a gale arose which spread the flames with appalling rapidity over the whole town. The atmosphere was boiling and the furnace-like heat finally forced even the foul wretches to take refuge in their camp. In less than twelve hours this fortified and populous town, one of the finest in Germany, was laid in

ashes, with the exception of two churches and a few huts. The administrator, Christian Wilhelm, had been captured with three mayors after he had received numerous wounds; many brave officers and magistrates had found a coveted death in the fierce struggle. Four hundred of the wealthiest citizens were saved by the avarice of the officers, in order to extort big ransoms. They were mostly officers of the league who were showing this consideration and the blind lust of murder of the imperial soldiers made them look like saving angels.

Hardly had the fire abated, when the imperial hordes returned with renewed hunger to rake their spoils out of the ruins and ashes. Some were choked to death by the smoke, many got away with considerable booty as the citizens had taken their most valuable belongings to the cellars. At last, on the 13th of May, Tilly himself appeared in the town after the main streets had been cleared of the débris and corpses. Horrible, ghastly and revolting was the spectacle which now presented itself. More than six thousand corpses had to be thrown into the Elbe to clear the streets, and a still greater number of living and dead had been consumed by the flames; the total amount of killed is estimated at thirty thousand.

Tilly's entry put an end to the massacre. About a thousand people were dragged out of the cathedral where they had spent three days and two nights

in constant fear of death and without any food. Tilly announced his pardon to them and had bread distributed. The following day a solemn mass was celebrated in this cathedral and the *Te Deum* was sung amidst the firing of the guns. The imperial general rode through the streets to report as an eyewitness to his master that, since the destruction of Troy and Jerusalem, no such victory had ever been seen. And in this assumption there was nothing exaggerated if one takes into consideration the size, the wealth and the importance of the city which was destroyed, and the fury of its destructors.

The news of Magdeburg's horrible fate spread rejoicing among the Catholics and terror over the whole of Protestant Germany. All accused the king of Sweden who, being so near and so powerful, had left the allied town without any help. Even the fairest observer could not explain this inactivity of the king, who saw himself under the necessity of laying before the world the reasons for his course.

He had just been attacking Landsberg and had conquered it on the 16th of April when he heard of the danger in which Magdeburg was placed. He decided to relieve this town with his entire cavalry and ten regiments of infantry and advanced toward the Spree. The position in which this king found himself on German soil made it an inviolable principle of prudence never to advance a single step

without having his rear covered. He could only move with the utmost care through a country in which he was surrounded by ambiguous friends and powerful open enemies, and where one single misstep could cut him off entirely from his kingdom. The elector of Brandenburg had already previously opened his fortress Küstrin to the fleeing imperial troops, and closed it to the pursuing Swedes. In case Gustavus Adolphus should be defeated by Tilly, then this elector could open his fortress to the imperialists, and the king, with enemies at his front and at his rear, would be lost beyond all hope. In order to avert this danger, he demanded before going to relieve Magdeburg that the elector should give him the two fortresses Küstrin and Spandau until he had liberated Magdeburg. Nothing seemed more just than this demand. The great service which Gustavus Adolphus had rendered to the elector by driving the imperial troops out of the Brandenburg territory justified this claim upon his gratitude, as did the attitude of the Swedes in Germany. However, by ceding his fortresses, the elector made the king of Sweden in a certain measure master of his country, apart from the fact that at the same time he would break with the emperor and expose his land to the future revenge of the imperial troops.

Georg Wilhelm had to fight a cruel struggle with himself for a long time, and faint-heartedness and

selfishness seemed at last to gain the upper hand. Unmoved by the fate of Magdeburg, cold against religion and German freedom, he saw nothing but his own danger, and this fear was increased by his minister, von Schwarzenberg, who secretly drew pay from the emperor. Meanwhile the Swedish troops were approaching Berlin, and the king made his quarters with the elector. When he noticed the timid doubts of this prince, he could not help showing his displeasure. "My way leads to Magdeburg," he said, "not to my personal advantage but to that of the Protestants. If nobody is going to assist me, then I shall at once turn back, offer the emperor peace and return to Stockholm. I feel certain that the emperor would conclude a peace with me as I want it, but if Magdeburg is lost, and if the emperor is rid of his fear of me, then you may see how you will fare." This threatening remark made at the right moment, perhaps also the presence of the Swedish army, which was powerful enough to take by force what could not be gotten by kindness, finally caused the elector to surrender Spandau to him.

Now there were two ways open to the king to use for his advance upon Magdeburg, of which one led through an exhausted country and hostile troops, who could bar his crossing of the river Elbe. The other went via Dessau or Wittenberg, where he would find bridges to cross and could get provisions in Saxony. This could not be done without the con-

sent of the elector of Saxony, whom Gustavus Adolphus distrusted. Before he began to march he therefore requested this prince to let his troops pass through freely and to sell them the necessary provisions for cash payment. His request was refused and no representations whatever could induce the elector to renounce his neutrality. While they quarreled over the matter, the news of Magdeburg's horrible fate reached them.

Tilly announced it to all Protestant princes with the tone of a victor, and lost no time to exploit the terror as best he could. The prestige of the emperor, which had noticeably declined because of the successes of Gustavus Adolphus, grew more than ever after this decisive event, and the change was quickly revealed in the peremptory language which he employed against the Protestant princes. The resolutions of the Leipzig convent were nullified, the Union itself was suspended by an imperial decree, and all opposing princes were threatened with the fate of Magdeburg. As executor of this imperial decree Tilly at once set his army in march against the bishop of Bremen, who was a member of the Leipzig convention and had enlisted soldiers. The frightened bishop immediately dismissed the latter in the care of Tilly and signed the cancellation of the Leipzig resolutions.

An imperial army which was then returning from Italy under the command of the count of

Fürstenberg acted in the same manner against the administrator of Württemberg. The duke had to submit to the restitution edict and to all the decrees of the emperor, and to pay a monthly contribution of 100,000 thalers for the support of the imperial troops. Similar burdens were imposed upon the towns of Ulm and Nürnberg, and upon the entire Suabian and Franconian districts. The oppression of the emperor was terrible, but in his exultation he went too far and drove the irresolute princes into Gustavus Adolphus's camp. Thus, unfortunate as the immediate consequences of Magdeburg's doom may have been for the Protestants, the later ones were beneficent. The first surprise soon gave way to fury and anger; the despair lent strength; and the freedom of Germany rose from the ashes of Magdeburg.

Among the princes of the Leipzig Union, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse were those who inspired the most fear, and the rule of the emperor was not safe in these districts so long as he did not see the two princes disarmed. Tilly turned his arms first against the landgrave, and immediately after the fall of Magdeburg commenced to advance upon Thuringia. Erfurt, the key between Saxony and Franconia, was threatened with a siege from which it escaped only by payment of a contribution and delivery of provisions. From here Tilly sent his delegates to the landgrave of Cassel

with the demand to dismiss all his troops without delay, to renounce the Leipzig Union, to take imperial regiments into his country and fortresses, to pay contributions, and to declare himself either friend or foe. Such was the treatment which a German prince had to endure from an imperial servant. With Magdeburg's ghastly fate before him, the landgrave answered: "He was not at all inclined to accept foreign troops in his capital and his fortresses—his own troops he needed himself—and against an attack he knew how to defend himself. If General Tilly was short of money and provisions, he should go to Munich, where there was an abundance of both." The invasion of Hesse by two imperial hordes was the immediate consequence of this defiant reply, but the landgrave defended himself so well that they could accomplish nothing of any consequence. However, when Tilly was about to follow with his entire force, the unfortunate country would have had to pay dearly for the resolution of its prince had not the movements of the king of Sweden recalled this general just in time.

Gustavus Adolphus received the news of Magdeburg's doom with the greatest sorrow, which was increased by the fact that Georg Wilhelm demanded the return of the fortress of Spandau according to the agreement. The loss of Magdeburg had augmented rather than diminished the reasons why the possession of this fortress was so

important, and the nearer the necessity of a decisive battle between him and Tilly approached, the harder it became for him to renounce the only refuge that would be left after a defeat. Having argued with the elector of Brandenburg without avail, he finally sent his commander the order to evacuate Spandau, but at the same time declared that from that day forward the elector would be treated as an enemy.

To lay stress upon this declaration, he appeared with his entire army before Berlin. "I will not be treated worse than the generals of the emperor," he answered the delegates whom the surprised elector had sent into his camp. "Your master has received them in his states, supplied them with all necessities, surrendered all the places to them which they chose to have, and through all these favors he has not achieved that they treated the people more humanely. All that I am requesting from him is safety, a moderate amount of money and bread for my army; for this I promise him to protect his states and to keep the war away from him. But I must insist upon these points and my brother the elector has to determine quickly if he wants to have me as a friend or if he would like to see his capital looted." This decisive tone made an impression and the guns before Berlin removed all doubts of Georg Wilhelm. After a few days an alliance was signed in which the elector agreed to a

monthly contribution of 30,000 thalers and to leave Spandau in the hands of the king. He also offered to open Küstrin to his troops at all times.

The joy of the king over this happy issue was soon enhanced by the glad tidings that Greifswald, the only fortified place that the imperialists occupied in Pomerania, had surrendered and that now the whole country was rid of the enemy. A year had passed since Gustavus Adolphus had landed on German soil and this event was celebrated throughout the whole of Pomerania by a feast of thanksgiving. Shortly before this the czar of Moscow had sent his compliments through his envoys, renewed his friendship with him and even offered him auxiliary troops. Not long afterward Queen Maria Eleonora, his consort, landed in Pomerania with a reënforcement of 8,000 Swedes; and the arrival of 6,000 Englishmen under the command of the marquis of Hamilton should not be passed over in silence, for their arrival is all that history has to tell of the deeds of the English in the Thirty Years' War.

Pappenheim held the territory of Magdeburg during the Thuringian campaign of Tilly, but he could not prevent the Swedes from crossing the Elbe several times, annihilating a number of imperial detachments and taking possession of a few places. Alarmed by the approach of the king, he sent urgent messages to Tilly and succeeded in

inducing him to return to Magdeburg by forced marches. Tilly took up his camp on the west bank of the river at Wolmirstädt; Gustavus Adolphus had his on the same side near Werben, not far from the confluence of the Havel with the Elbe. His arrival in these districts seemed an evil omen to Tilly. The Swedes dispersed three of his regiments which were posted in some villages at a distance from the main army, took half of the baggage and burned the other half. In vain Tilly approached within gun range of the camp of the king to offer him battle; the latter, who was much the weaker of the two, wisely avoided a conflict and his camp was too well fortified to fear attack. Retreating upon Wolmirstädt the army of Tilly dwindled because of frequent desertions. His good fortune had left him since the massacre of Magdeburg.

On the other hand it seemed to have attached itself to the colors of the Swedish king. While he was in his camp at Werben the whole of Mecklenburg was conquered, a few places excepted, by his General Tott and Duke Adolph Friedrich, and he had the royal pleasure of reinstating both dukes in their states. He traveled to Güstrow, where the restoration took place, and both dukes, their rescuer between them and a brilliant following of princes surrounding them, made a festive entry into the town. Soon after his return to Werben, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel appeared in his camp in order

to conclude an alliance with him for defensive and offensive purposes. He was the first reigning prince in Germany who voluntarily and openly declared himself against the emperor. Landgrave Wilhelm pledged himself to treat the enemies of the king as his own, to open his country and all his towns to him, and to supply provisions and all other necessities. For this the king promised to be his friend and protector and not to conclude peace without having previously given the landgrave full satisfaction from the emperor. Both parties kept their word conscientiously. Hesse-Cassel continued throughout this long war in alliance with the Swedes, and had cause to be glad of the Swedish friendship in the Westphalian Peace.

Tilly, to whom this bold step of the landgrave could not remain a secret long, sent Count Fugger with several regiments against him, and at the same time tried to incite the Hessian subjects against their master by seditious letters. These letters proved of no more use than his regiments.

However, Tilly was far more concerned about the ambiguous stand of the elector of Saxony, who, regardless of the imperial order, continued his preparations and maintained the Leipzig Union. To force the issue, Tilly offered an alliance against the king of Sweden and threatened him with the most terrible disasters in case he should refuse.

Tilly had chosen the most inopportune time for

this ultimatum. The maltreatment of his allies and co-religionists, the destruction of Magdeburg, the excesses of the imperialists in the province of Lausitz—all these facts combined to make the elector hostile to the emperor. The proximity of Gustavus Adolphus inspired him with courage. He protested against the imperial billeting of troops, and made it clear to Tilly that he intended to remain armed. "As much as he was struck," so he added, "by the fact that the imperial army was advancing in his country at a time when it had enough to do to pursue the king of Sweden, yet he did not expect to be paid with ingratitude and with the ruin of his country instead of the promised and well deserved rewards."

Tilly advanced upon Halle, in Saxony, and repeated his offer in even stronger terms. Johann Georg, brought to despair by Tilly's invasion of his states, reluctantly threw himself into the hands of the king of Sweden.

Immediately after the dispatch of Tilly's first delegation, Johann Georg hurriedly sent his field marshal, von Arnheim, into Gustavus Adolphus's camp to ask that monarch for his speedy assistance. The king concealed the satisfaction which this development gave him. "I am sorry for the elector," he replied to the delegate, with pretended coldness. "If he had paid attention to my repeated propositions, his country would not have seen an enemy and

Magdeburg would still be intact. Now that he is in trouble himself he appeals to the king of Sweden. But kindly report to him that I am far from sacrificing myself and my allies to destruction for the sake of the elector of Saxony. And who gives me the guarantee for the good faith of a prince whose ministers are in the pay of Austria, and who will forsake me as soon as the emperor flatters him and withdraws his armies from the frontiers? Tilly has increased his army by a considerable reënforcement, which, however, shall not prevent me from resisting him with all my might, as soon as I know that my rear is covered." The Saxon envoy did not know how to answer these reproaches except to ask that the past might be forgotten. He prevailed upon the king to state the terms under which he was willing to come to the assistance of Saxony, and pledged himself in advance to the granting of same. "I demand," replied Gustavus Adolphus "that the prince-elect give up the fortress of Wittenberg to me, surrender his eldest son as hostage, pay three months' wages to my troops and deliver into my hands the traitors in his ministry. Under these terms I am prepared to give him my assistance."

"Not only Wittenberg," exclaimed the elector, when this answer was reported to him, as he sent his minister back to the Swedish camp; "not only Wittenberg, but also Torgau, the whole of Saxony, shall

be open to him. I give him my whole family as hostage, and if that is not enough, I will offer myself to him. Hurry back and tell him that I am ready to deliver the traitors whom he is going to name, to pay the demanded wages, and that I am prepared to stake life and fortune for the good cause."

The king had only intended to put the new sentiments of Johann Georg to the test; moved by this sincerity, he withdrew his harsh demands. "The mistrust," he said, "which he placed in me when I wanted to come to the help of Magdeburg, has aroused my own; his present confidence deserves that I should return it. I am satisfied if he pays one month's wages for my army, and I hope to compensate him even for this expense."

Immediately after signing this alliance the king crossed the Elbe and joined the Saxons on the same day. Instead of preventing this union, Tilly had advanced upon Leipzig. In the hope of a speedy relief, the commander, Hans von der Pforta, prepared to defend himself and to this end he had the Halle suburb laid in ashes. But the bad condition of the fortification works rendered all resistance futile, and on the second day the gates were opened. In the house of a gravedigger, the only one which had remained in the Halle suburb, Tilly made his quarters. There the capitulation was signed and the attack upon the king of Sweden

settled upon. At sight of the painted skulls and bones with which the owner had adorned his home, Tilly turned pale. Leipzig enjoyed a treatment which was lenient beyond all expectation!

Meanwhile a great council of war was held in Torgau by the king of Sweden and the elector of Saxony, in the presence also of the elector of Brandenburg. A resolution was now made which irrevocably determined the fate of Germany and that of the Lutheran religion, the happiness of many nations and the lot of their princes. The anxiety which oppresses the heart of a hero before every great decision seemed now to cloud for a moment the soul of Gustavus Adolphus. "If we decide to fight a battle," he said, "there is nothing less at stake than one crown and two electoral hats. Fortune is fickle and the inscrutable divine ordinance may, for the sake of our sins, give the victory to the enemy. My crown may yet have a chance in its favor, even should my army lose it for me, or even lose me. Far distant, protected by a mighty fleet, well sheltered within its borders and defended by a warlike people, it would at least be safe against the worst. But where is your safety, in case the battle should have a disastrous ending?"

The great man showed the modesty of a hero whom the consciousness of his strength did not deceive as to the magnitude of the danger; Johann Georg had the confidence of a weakling who knows

that a hero is at his side. Full of impatience to see his country rid of two troublesome armies as soon as possible, he was keen for a battle in which no old laurels could be lost by him. He intended to advance upon Leipzig alone with his Saxons and fight Tilly. Finally Gustavus Adolphus agreed to his opinion and determined to attack the enemy without any further delay, before he could draw to himself the reënforcements which the generals Altringer and Tiefenbach were leading toward him. The united Swedish-Saxon army crossed the river Mulde and the elector of Brandenburg returned to his country.

In the early morning of September 7, 1631, the hostile armies faced each other. Tilly, determined to await the reënforcements which were hurrying to the spot, after he had neglected to defeat the Saxon army before it had time to unite with the Swedes. He had built near Leipzig a fortified camp in a favorable position where he could hope to avoid giving battle. However the impetuous attitude of Pappenheim induced him at last, when the hostile armies were advancing, to change his position and to support his left flank upon the hills which rise from the village of Wahren to Lindenthal. At the foot of these elevations his army was lined up in one long array and his artillery was distributed upon the hills so that it could cover the whole of the vast plain near Breitenfeld.

The Swedes took up their position to the right,

divided in two lines of battle, the infantry in the center, cut up in small battalions which could be easily moved, and which were, without disturbing the order, capable of the swiftest turns the cavalry was arrayed at the wings, and divided similarly into small squadrons, and interspersed by several squads of musketeers who were to conceal their weak numbers and to shoot down the cavalry of the enemy. Colonel Teufel commanded the center, Gustavus Horn the left wing, and the king himself the right, facing General Pappenheim. The Saxon position was divided by a wide space between themselves and the Swedes, an arrangement of Gustavus Adolphus which was justified by the result. The plan of the battle had been designed by the elector himself and his field marshal, and the king had contented himself with sanctioning it. It looked as if he wanted to segregate Swedish bravery from the Saxon, the success of one not being ascribed by chance to the other.

The enemy spread in a long line on the slopes to the west, which reached far enough to outflank the Swedish army; the infantry was divided into large battalions and the cavalry into huge, clumsy squadrons. His guns were behind him on the hills, and thus he was within the range of his own men, who curved their projectiles above him. From this position of the artillery, if the report can be trusted, one might almost

conclude that it was Tilly's intention to await the enemy instead of attacking him, since this arrangement made it impossible for him to break into the hostile ranks without being exposed to the missiles from his own guns. Tilly himself commanded the center, Pappenheim the left wing and Count Fürstenberg the right. The entire troops of the emperor and of the league on this day did not amount to more than 34,000 to 35,000 men, and the united army of the Swedes and Saxons was of equal strength.

But even if a million had faced another million, it could not have made the day bloodier, more important and more decisive. It was for this that Gustavus Adolphus had crossed the Baltic, to stake crown and life. The two greatest military leaders of their time, both hitherto invincible, were now to test their strength, and one of them was to leave his fame behind upon the battlefield. Both sections of Germany had watched this day approach with anxiety and dread; the whole world was awaiting the result with trepidation, and posterity would bless it or bewail it.

A cannonade of two hours' duration opened the battle. The wind was blowing from the west and drove thick clouds of dust and powder smoke against the Swedes from the freshly plowed fields. This prompted the king to execute unnoticed a turn to the north, and the rapidity with which this

was done did not give the enemy any time to prevent it. At last Tilly left his hills and ventured the first attack upon the Swedes, but forced by the fierceness of their fire, he turned to the right and charged upon the Saxons with such impetuosity that their ranks gave way and confusion overtook their entire army. The elector himself caught his breath again in Eilenburg and a few regiments held out on the battle field and saved the honor of the Saxons by their courageous resistance. Already the ruthless Croatians sallied forth to pillage, and couriers were dispatched to announce the news of the victory at Munich and Vienna.

Count Pappenheim threw himself upon the right flank of the Swedes with the entire strength of his cavalry but was unable to shake it. Here the king himself was in command, and under him General Banner. Seven times Pappenheim renewed his assault, and seven times he was repulsed. Finally, after severe losses, he fled and left the battle field to the victor.

Meanwhile Tilly had defeated the rest of the Saxons and presently broke into the left wing of the Swedes with his victorious troops. The king had, as soon as he discovered the confusion in the Saxon army, sent three regiments to reënforce that wing, in order to cover the flank which was exposed by the flight of the Saxons. Horn, who was commanding here, offered a vigorous resistance

to the hostile cuirassiers which was strongly supported by the distribution of musketeers among the squadrons. The enemy began to show signs of exhaustion, when Gustavus Adolphus appeared, to decide the battle. The left wing of the imperialists was defeated, and his troops could be used to better advantage elsewhere. So he turned with his left wing and the main body to the left and attacked the hill upon which the artillery of the enemy was mounted. In a short time it was in his hands and the foe had to suffer the fire from his own guns. Swift flight was all that was left for Tilly and that must be through the ranks of the enemy.

Wild panic threw the imperialists into confusion, with the exception of four regiments of gray-bearded, seasoned soldiers who had never fled from a battle field and refused to do so now. In serried ranks they plunged right through the midst of the victorious army and, desperately fighting, reached a small wood, where they rallied again and held off the Swedes until night. Reduced to the number of six hundred, they still offered vigorous resistance. With them, at last the whole remainder of the army of Tilly fled, and the glorious triumph was won.

Gustavus Adolphus knelt down among the dead and wounded, and the first great joy of victory poured into a glowing and fervent prayer of thanksgiving. The fleeing enemy was pursued by the cavalry. The tolling of the storm bells aroused the

country people in the surrounding villages, and the unfortunate fugitive was lost who fell into the hands of the enraged peasants. The king was camped with the rest of his army between the battle field and Leipzig, as it was impossible to attack the town the same night. Seven thousand of the enemy had fallen on the battle field, and over five thousand had been captured or wounded. All their artillery and the entire camp had been conquered, besides over a hundred banners and standards. Of the Saxons two thousand, and of the Swedes not over seven hundred, were missing. The defeat of the imperialists was so overwhelming that Tilly, on his flight to Halle and Halberstadt, was not able to rally six hundred men, and Pappenheim not over fourteen hundred. And this was the formidable army which only a short time ago had filled the whole of Italy and Germany with terror!

Tilly himself had to thank a lucky chance for his safety. Although exhausted by many wounds, he did not want to be made prisoner by a Swedish captain of horse who overtook him, and the latter was about to kill him when a pistol shot tumbled the horseman to the ground in the nick of time. More terrible than all danger of death and wounds to him was the loss in a single day of the fruits of a long life of labor and devotion. All his previous victories now amounted to nothing. All that remained of his brilliant feats of war were the curses of mankind.

Tilly's good fortune had left him forever. Even his last consolation, revenge, was denied him through the express order of his master not to venture upon any more decisive battles. He hurriedly fled from Halle to Halberstadt, where he hardly waited for the healing of his wounds. He then hastened to the Weser in order to reënforce himself with the garrisons in Lower Saxony.*

The elector of Saxony did not fail to appear in the camp of the king immediately after the danger was over. The latter thanked him for the fact that he had advised him to engage in the battle, and Johann Georg, surprised by this kind reception when he had expected criticism, promised him in his first joy—the Roman royal crown. On the next day Gustavus Adolphus advanced upon Merseburg, after leaving the elector to reconquer Leipzig. Five thousand imperialists who had gathered during the flight and who fell into his hands on the way, were partly sabered, partly captured—most of the latter entering his service. Merseburg surrendered at once, and soon afterward Halle was subdued.

The victory had been won, but only a wise exploit could make it decisive. The imperial army had

* Tilly was a small, lean man, with a face almost comical in its ugliness. His nose was like a parrot's beak, his forehead seamed with deep wrinkles, his eyes sunk in their sockets, and his cheekbones projecting. He usually wore a costume of green satin, with a cocked hat and long red feather, and rode a small, mean looking gray horse.—*Bayard Taylor*.

been routed, Saxony did not see any more enemies and the fleeing Tilly had retreated to Brunswick. To follow him there would have carried the war to Lower Saxony, which had hardly recovered from the miseries of the preceding one. It was therefore determined to carry the war into the enemy's country, which, undefended and open as far as Vienna, was inviting the victors, who could thus invade the territories of the Catholic princes to the right. They could also penetrate into the imperial hereditary dominions to the left and make the emperor tremble in his capital. Both plans were decided upon, and the question was how the various parts should be distributed. Gustavus Adolphus, at the head of a victorious army, would have found little resistance from Leipzig to Prague, Vienna and Pressburg. Bohemia, Moravia, Austria and Hungary were denuded of defensive troops, the suppressed Protestants in those countries ardently hoping for a change, and the emperor himself was no longer safe in his castle. In the terror of the first raid Vienna would have opened its gates. With the states which he took away from the enemy the emperor also closed the resources from which the war could be paid, and Ferdinand would have readily accepted a peace that removed a formidable enemy from the heart of his country. This bold plan of campaign would have flattered a conqueror, but Gustavus Adolphus, as cautious as he

was bold and more statesman than warrior, rejected it because he had a higher aim, and because he did not mean to trust all to fortune and bravery.

If he chose the way to Bohemia, then Franconia and the Upper Rhine would have to be left in charge of the elector of Saxony. But Tilly commenced to gather a new army from the remnants of his defeated troops, from the garrisons in Lower Saxony and the reënforcements that were sent to him, at the head of which he would hardly hesitate very long before seeking the enemy again. No Arnheim could be trusted to confront such an experienced general, for the Leipzig battle had given a rather ambiguous proof of the "capability" of the former. And what was the real gain of progress, be it ever so rapid and brilliant for the king in Bohemia and Austria, if Tilly was growing powerful again in the empire countries and if he revived the courage of the Catholics once more through fresh victories and disarmed the allies of the king?

Less brilliant, but far more profound, were the advantages which he could expect from a personal invasion of the countries of the league. His armed arrival was of a decisive effect there. The princes had just assembled in a diet at Frankfort on account of the restitution edict, and Ferdinand had set in motion all the arts of his deceitful policy to persuade the frightened Protestants to a quick and disad-

vantageous agreement. Only the approach of their protector could encourage them to steadfast resistance and thwart the designs of the emperor. Gustavus Adolphus could hope to unite all these discontented princes by his presence and separate the rest by inspiring terror into them through his armed power. Here, in the center of Germany, he was able to cut the nerves of the imperial power which could not maintain itself without the support of the league. Here he could watch France, a doubtful ally, from near at hand, and should the friendship of the Catholic electors be important to him for the fulfillment of a secret desire, he had to make himself master over their fate in order to obtain their gratitude by a magnanimous consideration.

Thus he chose for himself the road to Franconia and the Rhine, and left the conquest of Bohemia to the elector of Saxony.

CHAPTER VI

IN WINTER QUARTERS AT MAINZ

THE consternation of the emperor and of the Catholic League over the defeat of Tilly at Leipzig could hardly have been greater than the surprise and embarrassment of the allies of Sweden at the unexpected good fortune of the king. It was greater than they had reckoned upon, greater even than they had wished. The formidable army which had been checking his progress and had erected a barrier against his ambition, and made him dependent upon their good will, had been suddenly annihilated. Independent, without a rival, without an opponent who was any match for him, he was now in the heart of Germany; nothing could check his victorious course, nothing could restrict his arrogance if the intoxication of his fortune should ever tempt him to misuse his power. The distrust and jealousy of some of the allied powers, rendered dormant for a time through the greater fear of the emperor, soon awoke and no sooner had Gustavus Adolphus justified their confidence by his courage and success, than there arose in the distance a counter movement to overthrow his plans. In a continuous struggle with the treachery of the

enemy and with the distrust of his own allies, he had to gain his victories, but his resolute courage and his profound prudence overcame all obstacles. While the success of his arms made his more powerful allies, France and Saxony, apprehensive, it revived the courage of the weaker ones who only ventured to come to light with their true sentiments at this crucial moment and to take his part openly. It was they who were leading the king into the interior of Germany and protecting his rear, who were provisioning his troops, who received them in their fortresses and shed their blood for him in his battles. His diplomatic consideration for their German pride, his affable demeanor, several brilliantly conspicuous acts of justice, his respect for the laws—were so many obligations which he imposed upon the apprehensive minds of the German Protestants, and the fearful outrages of the imperialists, of the Spaniards and the Lorrainians made his own moderation and that of his troops appear in the most favorable light.

The sword in one hand and pardon in the other he traveled as a conqueror from one end of Germany to the other, and while doing so as legislator and judge, he accomplished the journey in about the same time as anybody else would have done it on a pleasure trip. No castle was inaccessible to him, no river could check his victorious course, and often he conquered through his name alone. Along

the entire Main river the Swedish flag floated, Lower Palatinate was free, the Spaniards and the Lorrainians retreated across the Rhine and Moselle.

The Swedes and Hessians poured into the territories of electoral Mainz, Würzburg and Bamberg like a rapid flood and three refugee bishops had to expiate, far from their chapters, their unfortunate devotion to the emperor. At last the leader's turn also arrived, and Maximilian had to experience on his own soil the misery which he had made others suffer. Neither the deterring fate of his allies, nor the friendly offers of Gustavus Adolphus who in the midst of his victorious course was stretching forth his hand for peace, could overcome the obstinacy of this prince. Over the corpse of Tilly, who placed himself like a demon sentinel before the entrance, the war rolled into the Bavarian country. As on the banks of the Rhine, those of the Lech and of the Danube were now teeming with Swedish soldiers; hiding in his fortified castles, the defeated Maximilian left his states to the enemy whom the fertile plains, never devastated by a war, invited to pillage. Munich opened its gates to the invincible king and the refugee Palatinate count Frederick V consoled himself for a brief moment, in the residence of his rival, over the loss of his countries.

While Gustavus Adolphus pushed his conquests along the southern borders of the empire, defeating

every enemy before him with resistless force, similar triumphs were won by his allies and field marshals in the remaining provinces. Lower Saxony rid itself of the imperial yoke; the enemy quit Mecklenburg and from all the banks of the Weser and the Elbe the Austrian garrisons hurriedly retreated. In Westphalia and on the upper Rhine, Landgrave Wilhelm of Hesse; in Thuringia, the dukes of Weimar, and in electoral Trier, the French held sway, while in the East nearly the whole of the kingdom of Bohemia was conquered by the Saxons. The Turks were preparing for an attack upon Hungary and in the heart of the Austrian lands a dangerous revolt was brewing. Emperor Ferdinand in vain appealed to all the courts of Europe. In vain he called the Spaniards, whom the bravery of the Netherlands kept occupied beyond the Rhine, in vain he strove to summon the Roman court and the entire Catholic Church to his rescue. The offended pope answered the pleadings of Ferdinand with pompous processions and useless anathemas, and instead of giving his envoys money showed him Mantua's devastated plains.

The king had prolonged the campaign until far into the winter and probably the roughness of the season had been a contributory cause for the superiority which the Swedish soldiers maintained over their enemy. However, the exhausted troops now needed rest in the winter quarters, which Gustavus

Adolphus granted them after the conquest of Mainz, in the districts surrounding the town. He himself used the leisure which the weather imposed upon his warlike operations to attend to diplomatic affairs with his chancellor, to carry on negotiations with the enemy regarding questions of neutrality and to end some political controversies with an allied power for which his recent actions had laid the foundation. For his winter residence and for the center of these affairs of state he chose the city of Mainz, which he fortified with great care. He ordered a new citadel erected opposite, at the junction of the Main and Rhine, which was called Gustaphsburg after its founder, but which has become better known under the names of "Pfaffenraub" and "Pfaffenzwang."

While Gustavus Adolphus was making himself master of the Rhine and threatening the three adjoining electorates with his triumphant arms, every trick known to politics was used in Paris and St. Germain by his vigilant enemies to deprive him of the support of France and, if possible, to entangle him in a war with that power. Through the unexpected and ambiguous turn of his arms against the Rhine he had startled his friends and given his opponents a chance to point out the dangers of his intentions. The Lower Palatinate had been almost thoroughly cleared of enemies and yet the Swedish king continued to form fresh plans of conquest

on the Rhine and to withhold the conquered Palatinate territory from its rightful ruler. In vain did the envoy of the king of England remind Gustavus of what justice demanded from him and what he had solemnly promised. The king answered this challenge with bitter complaints of the inactivity of the English court and continued to make preparations to carry his victorious banners into Alsatia and even into Lorraine.

Mistrust and hatred of his opponents now became active. The minister of Louis XIII, Richelieu, had looked upon the approach of the king toward the French borders with some misgiving and his master was only too ready to believe the worst. Just then France was in the throes of a civil war with the Protestant part of her population, and the ruler feared that the approach of a victorious sovereign of their own religion would revive their depressed spirits and encourage them to make further resistance. This, of course, might have taken place without a word or deed from Gustavus Adolphus in their behalf. But the revengeful sentiments of the bishop of Würzburg, who sought to forget the loss of his countries at the French court; the venomous eloquence of the Jesuits and the active zeal of the Bavarian minister, represented this dangerous understanding between the Huguenots and the king of Sweden as an accomplished fact, and they knew how to harass the timid Louis XIII to the last de-

gree. Not only foolish politicians but some sensible Catholics honestly believed the king would next penetrate into France, make common cause with the Huguenots, and overthrow the Catholic religion in the kingdom. Fanatic zealots already saw him cross the Alps with an army and dethrone the Governor of Christ himself in Italy. Self-contradictory as those dreams were, it could not be denied that Gustavus Adolphus through his warlike enterprises on the Rhine justified the suspicion that his intention was not so much to antagonize the emperor and the duke of Bavaria, as to fight the Catholic religion as a whole.

The general clamor finally prompted Cardinal Richelieu to undertake a decisive step for the safety of his religion, and at the same time to prove to the Catholic world the earnestness of France's religious zeal and the unselfishness of the policy of the ecclesiastical princes of the empire. Convinced that the intentions of the king of Sweden, like his own, were directed only against Austria and upon the humiliation of this dynasty, he had no hesitation in promising the princes of the league a perfect neutrality on the part of Sweden, as soon as they would renounce their alliance with the emperor and withdraw their troops. Whatever resolution the princes might make, Richelieu had accomplished his purpose. Through their separation from the Austrian party Ferdinand would be made defenseless against

the united forces of France and Sweden, and Gustavus Adolphus, rid of all his other enemies in Germany, could turn his full power against the imperial countries. The downfall of the Austrian dynasty would then be inevitable, and this last great aim of Richelieu's endeavors reached without any disadvantage to the Church. Somewhat more doubtful was the success if the princes of the league should refuse his offer and maintain their alliance with Austria. In this case, however, France had proved her Catholic faith to the whole of Europe and fulfilled her duties as a member of the Roman Church. The princes of the league would then appear as the sole originators of all the misery which the continuation of the war must bring upon Catholic Germany; it was they who, by their stubborn adherence to the emperor, thwarted the measures of their protector and exposed the Church to the most serious danger and themselves to destruction.

Richelieu pursued this plan vigorously, since the elector of Bavaria clamored continually for French assistance. It will be remembered that this prince had entered into a secret alliance with France against the emperor, whereby he hoped to secure for himself the Palatinate electorate should there be another change of mind on the part of Ferdinand. As plainly as the origin of this treaty showed against whom it had been concluded, Maximilian now ex-

tended it, arbitrarily enough, to the attacks of the king of Sweden and did not hesitate to demand the same assistance which France had promised him against Austria, and against Gustavus Adolphus, the ally of the French crown. Embarrassed by this alliance with two powers opposing each other, Richelieu could only help himself by putting a speedy end to the hostilities between them. He therefore worked with all his zeal for neutrality as the only means by which he could do justice to his twofold obligation. However, important as were the motives of Louis XIII to see this neutrality established, Gustavus Adolphus as ardently desired the reverse. Convinced that the hatred of the league princes against the Protestant religion was ineradicable, and their attachment to the House of Austria unbreakable, he feared their open enmity far less than a neutrality which so plainly contradicted their actual inclinations. Moreover, as he saw himself under the necessity of continuing the war at the expense of the enemies, he would evidently be the loser, if, without gaining new friends, he diminished the number of his open enemies. No wonder that Gustavus Adolphus showed slight inclination to buy the neutrality of the Catholic princes, which would really have helped him little, since he would sacrifice the advantages for which he had fought.

The terms under which he granted neutrality to

the elector of Bavaria were severe and in accordance with these sentiments. He demanded of the Catholic League an unconditional inactivity, withdrawal of their troops from the imperial army, from the conquered places and from all Protestant countries. And besides this he demanded that the military power of the league be greatly reduced. All their countries were to be closed to the imperial armies and Austria should be granted neither troops, nor provisions, nor ammunition. As harsh as these terms were, the French envoy hoped to be able to induce the elector of Bavaria to accept them. In order to facilitate this, Gustavus Adolphus was persuaded to grant Bavaria an armistice of fourteen days. But at the very time when the French envoy sent repeated assurances of the satisfactory progress of these negotiations, the Swedish king seized a letter of the elector to General Pappenheim in Westphalia which revealed the treachery of this prince to him, who by these parleyings had sought only to gain time for defense. Far from wanting to be hampered in his warlike undertakings by an agreement with Sweden, the perfidious prince, on the contrary, accelerated his military preparations and used the armistice which the enemy had vouchsafed him to strengthen his positions. The neutrality negotiations naturally ended in failure and served no other purpose than to exasperate Gustavus Adolphus still more against Bavaria.

Tilly's augmented army with which he threatened to overrun Franconia called the king to this district, but before this was done the Spaniards had to be driven from the Rhine and they had to be prevented from attacking the German provinces from the Netherlands. For this purpose Gustavus Adolphus had offered neutrality to the elector of Trier, Philip von Zeltern, under the condition that the Trier fortress Hermannstein should be surrendered to him and the Swedish troops granted free passage through Coblenz. As much as the elector disliked to see his countries in Spanish hands, he was unwilling to deliver them into the protection of a heretic and to make the Swedish conqueror the master of his fate. Unable to maintain his independence against two such formidable rivals, he sought protection under the mighty wings of France against both. With his usual clever diplomacy Richelieu exploited the embarrassment of this prince to increase the power of France and to acquire for her an important ally on Germany's frontier. A numerous French army was to cover the Trier territory and the fortress Ehrenbreitstein was to be held by a French garrison. But the purpose which had prompted the elector to this daring step was not quite fulfilled, for Gustavus Adolphus could not be appeased until a free passage was granted to the Swedish troops.

CHAPTER VII

CONQUEST OF BAVARIA AND BOHEMIA

WHILE these matters hung fire, the generals of the king had cleared the whole of the Mainz territory from the rest of the Spanish garrisons, and Gustavus Adolphus himself had finished the conquest of this district by the occupation of Kreuznach. In order to protect what had been conquered, Oxenstierna had to remain behind with part of the army on the middle Rhine while the main army set out to seek the enemy in Franconia under the command of their leader, the king.

For the possession of this district Count Tilly and the Swedish general Horn had fought in the meantime, with alternating success, and the archbishopric of Bamberg was both the prize of the struggle and the chief scene of their devastations.

At the moment when Gustavus decided to seek Tilly, Horn had lost Bamberg to the imperial general through a confusion among his troops and was barely able to quit the city. In spite of his swift pursuit Tilly could not overtake the Swedish general, who had retreated in perfect order across the river Main. The appearance of the king in

Franconia, whom Horn joined with the rest of his troops at Kitzingen, set a limit to his conquests and forced him to look for his own safety in a timely retreat.

The king held a general review of his troops at Aschaffenburg. Their number, with reënforcements from Gustavus Horn, Banner, and Duke Wilhelm of Weimar, aggregated almost 40,000 men. Nothing checked his march through Franconia, for Count Tilly, much too weak to resist such a superior enemy, had retired toward the Danube by forced marches. Bohemia and Bavaria were now equally near to the king, and in the uncertainty as to where the conqueror would take his course, Maximilian could not make up his mind. The way which Tilly would be permitted to take had to decide the choice of the king and, thereby, the fate of the two provinces. It was a dangerous thing to leave Bavaria without any defense on the approach of a strong enemy, in order to protect the frontiers of Austria, and still more dangerous, by taking Tilly into Bavaria, to call the enemy into this country at the same time and to subject it to the usual devastation. The anxiety of the sovereign conquered the hesitation of the statesman, and Tilly received the order to defend the frontiers of Bavaria with all his forces, whatever might be the consequences.

Nürnberg received the protector of the Protestant religion and of German freedom with acclama-

tions of joy, and Gustavus Adolphus could not hide his astonishment at finding himself in this town, in the center of Germany, where he had never expected to unfurl his banners.

After a short stay within the walls of Nürnberg he followed his army toward the Danube and arrived before the frontier stronghold Donauwörth before Austria could realize that the enemy had come. A strong Bavarian garrison was defending this place, and the leader of them, Rudolf Maximilian, duke of Saxony-Lauenburg, showed great courage in the beginning of the siege, trusting in the help of Tilly. The vigor with which Gustavus Adolphus commenced the siege forced him to think of a quick and safe retreat, which he accomplished under the fierce gunfire of the Swedes.

The possession of Donauwörth opened the opposite bank of the Danube for the king, and only the small river Lech now separated him from Bavaria. This imminent danger to his countries roused the activity of Maximilian, and he was determined to bar the way with all the means at his command. On the other side of the rich Lech, near the little town of Rain, Tilly erected a well-fortified camp which, surrounded by three rivers, defied every attack. All the bridges across the Lech had been destroyed; the whole length of the stream up to Augsburg was defended by strong garrisons, and this great city, which seemed inclined to follow

the example of Nürnberg and Frankfort, was held in leash by the occupation of a Bavarian garrison and the disarming of the citizens. The elector himself joined General Tilly with all the troops which he was able to gather, as though it were his last hope, and the fortune of the Swedes would crumble before this bulwark. Gustavus Adolphus appeared on the bank opposite the Bavarian intrenchments. It was in the month of March, when this river rises to a considerable height through the rains and the melting snow of the Tyrolese Mountains and rushes with great velocity between steep banks. Certain death lurked in these waves for the foolhardy one who should dare a storm attack, while on the opposite side the hostile guns showed their death-dealing muzzles.

The Swedish council of war which the monarch assembled laid great stress upon these natural conditions with a view to prevent the carrying out of the perilous attack. Even the bravest hesitated and venerable warriors who had grown old in the service did not blush to voice their apprehensions. But the king had decided on the attack. "What!" he said to Gustavus Horn, who was the spokesman of the others. "We have crossed the Baltic, we have crossed so many big streams in Germany, and in the face of a brook, in the face of this Lech, shall we give up our enterprise?" He had, while surveying the territory at great personal risk, made the dis-

covery that his own bank of the river was noticeably higher than the other, which would favor the effect of the Swedish guns over those of the enemy.

He determined to build on this advantage. Three batteries were immediately ordered to the point where the left bank of the Lech curved over toward the right bank, and seventy-two field guns kept up a vigorous fire against the enemy. While this furious bombardment was driving the Bavarians from the opposite bank, he had a bridge constructed in great haste. Thick smoke caused by burning wood and damp straw was used to hide the work of building for a long time from the enemy's sight, while the continuous roar of the guns covered the noise of the carpenters' axes.

Gustavus took part in the bombardment by firing over sixty guns with his own hand. The cannonade was returned by the Bavarians at a lively rate for two hours, although not with the same effect, as the higher-mounted batteries of the Swedes commanded the lower bank and the height of their own served as a rampart against the Bavarian guns. In vain the Bavarians attempted to destroy the fortifications of the enemy by gunfire from their side; the superiority of the Swedish guns drove them away again and again, and they were forced to see the bridge finished almost under their very eyes. Tilly did his utmost to inspire the courage of his people and no danger could keep

him away from the river bank. At last death, which he was seeking, overtook him. A projectile smashed his leg, and soon after him Altringer, his equally brave brother-in-arms, was dangerously wounded in the head. Deprived of the inspiring presence of these two leaders, the Bavarians wavered, and even Maximilian was carried away by their fears. Following the advice of the dying Tilly, whose wonted firmness had left him with his approaching death, he rashly gave up his impregnable post; a ford, discovered by the Swedes, over which the cavalry was about to cross, accelerated his retreat. The same evening, before a soldier of the enemy had actually crossed the Lech, he abandoned his camp and retired upon Neuburg and Ingolstadt in perfect order. Gustavus Adolphus was astounded when morning came and he discovered the enemy's flight. Visiting the camp and examining its construction, he exclaimed: "If I had been the Bavarian, never—and if a shot had taken my beard and chin away—but never would I have left a position like this and opened my states to the enemy."

Bavaria was now open to the victor, and the flood of war, which until then had been raging on the borders of the country, was pouring for the first time over its peaceful, fertile plains. But before the king ventured upon the conquest of this hostile country, he freed the imperial city of Augsburg

from the Bavarian yoke, took the oath of allegiance from the citizens, and placed a Swedish garrison in it. After this he advanced by forced marches upon Ingolstadt, in order to secure his conquests in Bavaria by taking possession of this important fortress into which the elector had fled with a great part of his army, and to gain a firm foothold on the Danube.

Soon after his arrival before Ingolstadt, the wounded Tilly died within the walls of this town. Crushed by the superior generalship of Gustavus Adolphus, he saw on the eve of his life his laurels of former victories wither and crumble—the punishment of Fate for his cruelty in Magdeburg. In him the army of the emperor and of the league lost a leader who could never be replaced, the Catholic religion one of its most active defenders, and Maximilian the most devoted of his servants, who remained faithful unto his death and fulfilled the duties of a field marshal even while in the clutch of death. His last legacy to the elector was the advice to occupy the town of Regensburg, to remain master of the Danube, and to retain connection with Bohemia.

With the confidence which was the fruit of many victories, Gustavus Adolphus undertook the siege of Ingolstadt, hoping to break its resistance by the impetuosity of his first attack. However, the strength of the fortifications and the bravery of the

garrison were obstacles which he had not encountered since the battle of Breitenfeld and he came near losing his own life in front of the town. On a reconnoitering expedition near the fortress a twenty-four pounder killed his horse under him, he was flung to the ground and shortly after his favorite, the young margrave of Baden, was taken from his side by a cannon ball. With instant composure the king leaped to his feet and continued his way on another horse.

The occupation of Regensburg by the Bavarians, which the elector, following the advice of Tilly, had taken by a ruse, quickly changed the war plan of the king. He had flattered himself with the hope to get this Protestant free city into his power and to find as faithful and devoted an ally in it as he did in Frankfort, Nürnberg and Augsburg. Its subjugation by the Bavarians, however, endangered his plans for possession of the Danube. Quickly he left Ingolstadt and penetrated into the interior of Bavaria with the idea of luring the elector to the protection of his states and thus denuding the banks of the Danube of its defenders.

The whole of the country to Munich was open to the conqueror. Moosburg, Landshut, and the entire chapter of Freysingen surrendered to him; nothing could resist his arms. But if he did not meet any real military forces on the way which could obstruct his course, he had a far more im-

placable enemy in the breast of every Bavarian—the religious fanaticism of the populace. Soldiers who did not believe in the pope were an unheard-of thing in this country; the blind zeal of the priests had described them to the peasants as monsters, children of hell, and their leader as the antichrist. Woe to the Swedish soldier who fell singly into the hands of a crowd of these savages. All the tortures which the inventive mind could think of were inflicted upon these unfortunate victims and the sight of their mutilated bodies inflamed the army to terrible retribution.

The approach of the king spread terror and fear in Munich. The citizens thought they could pacify his anger by a voluntary and unconditional surrender, and were sending deputies as far as Freysingen to lay the keys of the city at his feet. However much the king may have been inclined to avenge the fate of Magdeburg upon the capital of its destroyer, his generous heart spurned such revenge and the defenselessness of the enemy disarmed his wrath. Satisfied with the triumph of leading Frederick V, count of the Palatinate, with victorious pomp into the residence of the same prince who had been the instrument of his downfall and the robber of his states, he enhanced the splendor of his entry through the noble brightness of moderation and leniency.

The king found only a deserted palace in

Munich, for the treasures of the elector had been brought to Werfen. The splendor of this castle astonished him and he asked the keeper the name of the builder. "It is none other," replied the latter, "than the elector himself." "I should like to have this builder," replied the king, "to send him to Stockholm." "Against that," answered the keeper, "the builder will know how to guard himself." When the armory was searched, one found only gun carriages; the guns were missing. They had been buried so cleverly under the floor that no trace of them could be seen, and except for the treachery of a laborer the deception would never have been discovered. "Rise up from the dead," exclaimed the king, "and come before the tribunal." The floor was removed, and there lay revealed about 140 cannons of extraordinary size, one of which held thirty thousand ducats in gold.

While Gustavus Adolphus was waging the war in the empire with such success, fortune had no less favored his ally, the elector of Saxony. As will be remembered, the conquest of Bohemia was the share of this prince which fell to him in the deliberations that were carried on at Halle after the battle of Leipzig, while the king himself chose the way to the countries of the league.

Ferdinand recognized too late the fallacy of his policy which had led him to exasperate the elector of Saxony to the utmost and to drive this

important ally, as it were, into the arms of the king of Sweden. What he had spoiled by his untimely defiance, he intended to mend by a moderation that was just as ill chosen, and he committed a second blunder to atone for the first. With a view of depriving his enemy of so powerful an ally, he renewed the negotiations with the elector through the mediations of the Spaniards, and ordered his general, Tiefenbach, to leave Saxon territory at once. But this moderation of the emperor, far from having the desired effect, only served to show the elector the embarrassment of his enemy and his own importance. And how could he renounce an ally to whom he had given the most sacred assurances of his faith, and to whom he was indebted for the rescue of his states and even of his electoral hat?

The Saxon army, which was now spared the march to the Lausitz, took its way to Bohemia where a coincidence of favorable events seemed to assure its victory beforehand. The blood of distinguished champions of liberty had been sacrificed on the gallows and those who had escaped their doom by timely flight were wandering about in misery far from their homes while the pliant slaves of despotism were squandering their heritage. But worst of all were the attempts to "convert" the Protestants by force to the Catholic religion. The inhabitants of the Joachim valley, in the mountains

on the border between Bohemia and Meissen, were hit in the hardest manner by this fate. Two imperial commissioners assisted by as many Jesuits and 15 musketeers appeared in this peaceful valley to preach the gospel to the "heretics." Where the eloquence of the former did not succeed, they tried to accomplish their purpose by forcibly billeting the latter upon the homes, by threatening exile and by money fines. The vigorous resistance of this little community however forced the emperor ignominiously to withdraw his proselytizing mandate. The example of the court served the Catholics of the kingdom as a guide for their demeanor, and justified all sorts of oppression which their arrogance was tempted to visit upon the Protestants. No wonder this grievously persecuted people longed for their liberator, who was now showing himself on the frontier.

The Saxon army rapidly advanced upon Prague. Everywhere the imperial garrisons fled. Schluckenau, Tetschen, Aussig and Leitmeritz fell in quick succession into the hands of the enemy, and every Catholic place was given over to the looting of the troops. All that was Catholic and had something to lose hurried from the country into the capital, to leave the latter just as quickly. Prague was not prepared for an attack, and was too weak in troops to stand a long siege. In their plight, the Catholic inhabitants looked to Wallenstein, who was living

as a private resident within the walls of this town. But Wallenstein, instead of using this experience, seized the welcome moment to satisfy his revenge. Count Maradas, an imperial colonel, actually planned a defense of Prague. But prompted to this venture without superior orders and only by his own zeal and bravery, he did not dare make any actual preparations at his own risk and without the sanction of a higher authority. He therefore asked for advice from the duke of Friedland, to whom the Bohemian generals were to apply in this extreme case by the express order from the court. Wallenstein deceitfully withdrew into his customary inactivity and passivity in regard to political affairs and refuted the resoluteness of the subaltern officer by the doubts which he, as the mighty one, exhibited. To make the discouragement universal and complete, he left the town with his entire court although he had little to fear from the enemy under the conditions. Prague was lost because he had given it up, for the whole of the Catholic nobility followed his example, as did the generals with their troops, the clergy and the officers of the crown. All the streets to Vienna were crowded with refugees who did not recover from their fright until they arrived in the imperial capital. Maradas himself followed the rest and led his small squad to Tabor, where he intended to wait for the end.

Deep silence reigned in Prague when the Saxons

appeared before the town the next morning; there were no preparations for defense; not a single shot fell from the walls which would indicate a resistance of the inhabitants. Only a crowd of spectators gathered around and from them it was learned that the town was denuded of all the troops, and that the government had fled to Budweis. "The town is ours without a stroke of the sword," exclaimed the amazed commander, and sent a trumpeter to demand surrender at once.

The citizens of Prague, forsaken by their defenders, had formed their resolution long before: the question was only to preserve freedom and property by an advantageous capitulation. As soon as this was signed by the Saxon general in the name of his master, the gates were opened and the army triumphantly entered, on the 11th of November, 1631.

Johann Georg could not even as a victor forget the humility and submission which the imperial name had instilled into him. He made his residence in the Lichtenstein House, not in the imperial palace, too modest to live in the rooms of him whom he was robbing of a kingdom. If this had been reported to us of a great personality and a hero, it would undoubtedly rouse our admiration; but the character of the prince rather inclines us to pity the paltry sentiment of a weak mind that cannot be emboldened by a stroke of good fortune and

whom not even freedom liberates of its accustomed fetters.

The occupation of Prague, which was followed in a short time by the subjugation of the majority of towns, brought a quick and great change in the kingdom. Many of the Protestant nobility who had hitherto been wandering about in misery, returned to their native country.

However brilliantly and promisingly the Saxons had opened the campaign, the result did not by any means justify Gustavus Adolphus's expectations. Instead of pursuing the advantages already gained, to march through Bohemia in order to unite with the Swedish forces and to attack the imperial stronghold in unison with them, they began to weaken themselves by a guerrilla warfare with the enemy in which the benefits were not always on their side. Johann Georg's subsequent actions revealed the motives which had prompted him not to exploit the advantages over the emperor and to neglect the promotion of the Swedish plans.

The major part of Bohemia was now lost to the emperor, and the Saxons were advancing upon Austria, while the Swedish monarch was making his way to the imperial states through Franconia, Suabia and Bavaria. A long war had consumed the strength of the Austrian monarchy, exhausted the country and depleted the army. Gone was the glory of their victories, the confidence in their in-

vincibleness, obedience and the stern discipline of the troops which gave the Swedish leader such a superiority in the field. The allies of the emperor were disarmed, or the danger which was threatening them had shaken their allegiance. Even Maximilian of Bavaria, Austria's mightiest support, seemed to yield to the tempting invitations of neutrality; the suspicious alliance of this prince with France had long filled the emperor with apprehension. The bishops of Würzburg and Bamberg, the elector of Mainz, and the duke of Lorraine, had been driven out of their countries, or were in danger of it. Trier was on the verge of falling under French protection. Spain had all it could do to hold out against the Dutch in the Netherlands, while Gustavus Adolphus was beating them back from the Rhine, and Poland was still bound by the armistice with Sweden. The Transylvanian prince Ragotzy was threatening the Hungarian frontiers—a true successor of Bethlen Gabor and the heir of his restless spirit. The Porte also was preparing for an attack. The majority of the Protestant princes, emboldened by the success of their protector, had openly taken sides against the emperor. All the resources which had been opened by the genius of a Tilly and of a Wallenstein in these countries were exhausted; the recruiting offices, storehouses, and places of refuge were lost to the emperor, and the war could no longer be conducted

at someone else's expense. To complete his distress, a dangerous revolution was brewing in the Ems territory, where religious fanaticism wielded its torch, while the enemy was already storming the gates of the empire.

Ferdinand looked into an abyss of despair.

The whole series of these misfortunes began with the battle of Breitenfeld, the disastrous result of which revealed the "dry-rot" and decay of the Austrian power that had only been hidden by the deceptive glamor of a great name. If one went back to the causes which gave the Swedes such a tremendous superiority in the field, one found it mainly in the unrestricted dominance of the leader who was uniting all the forces of his party at one point, and who, untrammelled in his undertakings by any higher authority, was the perfect master of every favorable opportunity by having command of all the means for the achievement of his purpose without being compelled to obey any other law than that which he made himself. What the emperor needed was a general who had sufficient experience to raise an army as well as to lead it, and who would give his services with a blind zeal to the House of Austria.

Since Wallenstein's forcible removal the emperor had always depended on the help of the league and of Bavaria more than on his own armies, and it was this dependence upon doubtful friends

which he now sought to escape by enlisting an army of his own. But what prospects were there to call up an army from nothing—an army which would be a match for the northern conqueror in discipline, warlike spirit and experience? In the whole of Europe there was only one man who could do this, and he had been mortally offended.

At last the time had arrived when the duke of Friedland was to get satisfaction for his offended pride. Fate had become his avenger, and an uninterrupted series of misfortunes, which had befallen Austria since the day of his abdication, wrested the confession from the emperor himself that with this field marshal his right arm had been cut off. Each defeat of his troops opened the wound again and each place which was lost was to the deceived monarch a reproach of weakness and ingratitude.

Remote from the scene of war and condemned to the torment of inactivity while his rivals were gathering laurels on the field of honor, the proud duke had been looking upon the vicissitudes of fortune with pretended complacency, keeping the gloomy schemes of an active mind concealed behind the gorgeous splendor of a theatrical hero. Consumed by a glowing passion within, serene when under the eyes of others, he was brooding in his seclusion over his revenge and ambition, nearing his goal slowly but surely. Forgotten was everything

he had attained through the emperor; only what he had done for his sovereign stood out in bold relief in his mind. The schemes of his ambition appeared now in the light of justification, and righteous retribution.

Gustavus Adolphus strode through the German North with victorious steps; one place after another was lost to him, and at Leipzig the best of the imperial power was annihilated. The rumor of these defeats soon reached Wallenstein's ears also. Secluded in Prague in the obscurity of his private life, he quietly watched the raging war storm from the distance. The fear that filled the breasts of all Catholics was to him the promulgation of greatness and fortune; it was for *him* that Gustavus Adolphus worked. No sooner had the latter begun to earn the respect of all through his deeds of valor than the duke of Friedland sought his friendship and offered to make common cause with this successful enemy of Austria. The deposed count of Thurn, who had devoted his services to the king of Sweden for a long time, took it upon himself to offer Gustavus Adolphus the congratulations of Wallenstein and a close alliance with the duke. Wallenstein asked for 15,000 men from the king with the help of which and the troops which he himself was prepared to enlist, he wanted to conquer Bohemia and Moravia, to attack Vienna, and to drive the emperor, his master, into Italy.

The unexpectedness of the offer and the vastness of the promises roused the distrust of Gustavus Adolphus; yet he was too good a judge of merit to repulse such an important and powerful friend with coldness. But when Wallenstein, encouraged by the favorable reception of his first attempt, renewed his offer after the battle of Breitenfeld and pressed for a definite answer, the cautious monarch hesitated to venture his fame upon the chimerical schemes of this daring mind and to trust such a number of men to the honesty of one who in his own message announced himself as a traitor. The king made excuse of the weakness of his army, which would have to suffer a great depletion on its march through the empire. Because of this over-caution he perhaps forfeited the opportunity to end the war in the quickest possible way. Too late he tried in the course of later events to renew the negotiations; the propitious moment had passed, and Wallenstein's pride never forgave him this slight.

The king of Sweden and Wallenstein were two natures which could never have been partners. Both were born to command, and neither had learned to obey. The monarch would not listen to Wallenstein's offer, for he could not think of a traitorous subject daring to reach for a crown. Thus there was no room for a Wallenstein by the side of such an ally, and probably it was this and not his alleged

designs upon the imperial throne to which Wallenstein alluded when he exclaimed after the death of the king: "What a good fortune for me and for him that he is gone! The German empire had no need for two such heads."

CHAPTER VIII

WALLENSTEIN'S RETURN TO POWER

FOR his ambitious plans upon the Bohemian crown Wallenstein needed an army and it was impossible to enlist it in secrecy, for suspicion would be aroused at the imperial court and the scheme would be frustrated in its very beginning. This army must not learn of its unlawful purpose for the time being, since it could hardly be expected to obey the call of a traitor and serve against its rightful master. Wallenstein would have to proceed with his enlistment openly, under the imperial sanction, and be entitled to an unrestricted control over the troops by the emperor himself. But how could this be done except by intrusting him again with the supreme command? And yet neither his pride nor his ambition would permit him to urge himself upon the emperor for this post and to beg like a petitioner for the favor of a limited power which could be obtained much easier through fear. If he wished to make himself master of the terms upon which the command would be taken over by him, he had to wait until it was urged upon him by his master.

Convinced that only the most extreme need could conquer the indecision of the emperor and nullify the opposition of Bavaria and Spain, his two most zealous antagonists, Wallenstein became energetic in promoting the progress of the enemy and increasing the embarrassment of his master. Very probably it was upon his invitation and encouragement that the Saxons, who were already on their way to the Lausitz and Silesia, turned to Bohemia and overran this undefended country with their armies, while their rapid conquests in it were no less his work. Through the meekness which he pretended, he dispelled all thoughts of resistance and delivered the capital into the hands of the victor by his precipitate departure. At a meeting with the Saxon general in Kaunitz, to which peace negotiations gave him a pretext, the seal to this conspiracy was probably set, and the conquest of Bohemia was the first fruit of the compact. While he was himself contributing to the best of his ability to heap misfortune upon Austria, splendidly supported by the swift progress of the Swedes on the Rhine, he had his paid and unpaid admirers and followers make the loudest complaints in Vienna about the public distress, and describe the abdication of the former field marshal as the only reason for the losses which had been suffered. "Wallenstein would never let it have come to this, if he had remained in command." A thousand

voices were clamoring now, and even in the secret council of the emperor this opinion had enthusiastic advocates.

The distressed monarch did not need these clamors to realize the rashness which had been committed. His dependence upon Bavaria and the league had become unbearable to him, but this dependence did not allow him to show his distrust and to provoke the elector by the recall of the duke. Now, however, when necessity grew more urgent every day, and the weakness of the Bavarian support became more and more evident, he did not hesitate any longer to lend his ear to the friends of the duke and to consider their proposals concerning the recall of the general. The tremendous wealth which the latter possessed; the universal esteem in which he was held; the rapidity with which he had placed an army of 40,000 warriors in the field six years before; the small expenditure for support of this numerous army; the deeds which he had accomplished at the head of it; and finally the faith and the zeal which he had proved for the honor of the emperor, were still fresh in the memory of the monarch. He, and he alone, could save Austria and the Catholic religion. However much it grieved him to descend from the exalted height of his dignity as a sovereign to ask favors, however open to suspicion might be considered the loyalty of a man so deeply offended and implacable, and more-

over however loudly and emphatically the Spanish ministers and the elector of Bavaria manifested their displeasure with this step, dire necessity now conquered all other considerations, and the friends of the duke received the order to sound his views and to show him the possibility of his restoration.

Informed of everything that was going on in the cabinet of the emperor, Wallenstein had sufficient self-control to conceal his feeling of triumph and to play the part of indifference. The time for revenge had arrived and his proud heart was rejoicing in the chance of repaying the emperor for all his insults, with interest. With artful eloquence he expatiated at great length about the happy tranquillity of a private life which he had enjoyed since his retirement from the political world. Too long, so he explained, he had been tasting of the charms of independence and leisure, to sacrifice them to the idle phantom of fame and fickle princely favor. All his desires for greatness and power had left him and peace and rest were now his only wishes. In order not to betray impatience at any cost, he declined the invitation to the court of the emperor, but advanced toward Znaim in Moravia with the intention of shortening the time of the negotiations.

The emperor and his counselors first intended to limit the extent of the power which Wallenstein was to have, by appointing a supervisor. The delegates of the monarch, von Questenberg and von

Werdenberg, who, as old friends of the duke, were employed in these precarious negotiations, were instructed to mention in their offer the king of Hungary, who was to be present in the army and to learn the art of war under Wallenstein's tutelage. However, the mere mention of this name threatened to end abruptly all the negotiations. "Never," exclaimed the duke, "shall I tolerate an assistant in command, and if it were God Himself with whom I am supposed to share it!" But even after the emperor had waived this point, the imperial favorite and minister Prince von Eggenberg, Wallenstein's staunch friend and adherent, who was now sent to him, exhausted his eloquence for a long time in vain, in his endeavor to conquer the pretended disinclination of the duke. "The monarch," confessed the minister, "had lost in Wallenstein the most precious gem of his crown, and it was only under duress and with reluctance that he had taken this step which he had rued ever since; his high esteem for the duke had never changed and the latter was always in the good graces of the emperor. The decisive proof of this was the unconditional trust which Ferdinand now reposed in his loyalty and abilities to repair the faults of his predecessors and to change the whole aspect of things. It would be an act of nobility and greatness on the part of Wallenstein to sacrifice his just anger for the benefit of his native country; great and worthy of him

to refute the calumnies of his opponents by his redoubled zeal. This victory over himself," concluded the prince, "would be a worthy crowning deed which would make him the greatest man of his time."

These humiliating confessions and flattering assurances finally seemed to disarm the wrath of the duke; but not before he had poured out his heart which was full of reproaches, not until he had humiliated the monarch who was now in need of his assistance, as deeply as he possibly could, did he lend his ear to the tempting offers of the minister. But, far from ending the embarrassment of the emperor at once by a full and unconditional admission, he only fulfilled part of his requests in order to be able to set a much higher price upon the other, more important half. He accepted the command, for a term of three months, to enlist and equip an army, but he would not lead it himself. Convinced that a force which his name had created out of nothing would return to nothing without its creator, he served only as a bait, in order to be able to wrest more important concessions from his master, and yet Ferdinand congratulated himself on the little that had been gained.

Wallenstein did not tarry long before fulfilling his promise, which the whole of Germany ridiculed as chimerical and which even Gustavus Adolphus

thought was exaggerated. But the foundation of this enterprise had been laid a long time before and he only set the machinery in motion which had been built for this purpose several years previous. No sooner had the rumor of Wallenstein's preparations spread than crowds of warriors hastened from all parts of the Austrian monarchy to try their luck with the colors of this experienced leader. Many who had previously fought under his banners, who had admired his greatness as eye witnesses and experienced his generosity, emerged from their obscurity at the call to share fame and booty with him for the second time. The size of the promised wages tempted thousands to join and the ample board which the soldier received at the expense of the farmer was an irresistible temptation for the latter to take up this vocation himself rather than be ruined by it. All the Austrian provinces were called upon to contribute to this expensive mobilization; no class was spared taxation; no dignity, no privilege exempted the individual from the head tax. The Spanish court and the king of Hungary granted a considerable sum, the ministers made substantial donations, and Wallenstein himself spent 200,000 German thalers of his own fortune to accelerate the preparations. The poorer officers he subsidized out of his own treasury, and by his example, his brilliant schemes of promotion and still more brilliant promises, he induced the wealthy

classes to enlist troops at their own expense. Everyone who assembled a detachment with his own money became its commander. Religion made no difference whatever in the appointment of officers; wealth, bravery and experience counted for more than creed. Through this uniform justice toward the various religionists, and still more by the declaration that the present preparations had nothing to do with religion, the Protestant subject was pacified and prompted to participate equally in the public burden. At the same time the duke did not neglect to negotiate with foreign states for troops and money. He induced the duke of Lorraine a second time to march for the emperor, Poland had to supply him with Cossacks and Italy with war equipment. Before the three months had elapsed, the army which was being assembled in Moravia aggregated no less than 40,000 men, drafted for the greater part out of the remainder of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and the German provinces of the Austrian dynasty. What had seemed impossible to everyone, Wallenstein had achieved in the shortest time to the astonishment of all Europe. The magic of his name, his gold and his genius had called to arms as many thousands as they had scarcely expected hundreds. Abundantly equipped with all requirements, commanded by experienced officers, inspired by an enthusiasm anticipating victory, this newly created army was only waiting

for a hint from its leader to show itself worthy of him by deeds of bravery and boldness.

The duke had kept his promise, and the army stood ready in the field. Presently he withdrew and left the emperor to choose a leader. But it would have been easier to create a second army like this than to find any other chief for it but Wallenstein. This promising army, the last hope of the emperor, was nothing but a sort of optical illusion as soon as the magic wand disappeared which had called it into being; it came at the bidding of Wallenstein, and without him it would vanish like a magic creation into its former nothingness. The officers were either his debtors, or as creditors closely attached to his interest and to the continuation of his power; all the regiments he had given to his relatives, his creatures and his favorites. He and none else was the man to fulfill the excessive promises to the troops with which he had lured them into his service. His given word was the only guarantee for the bold expectations of all of them; blind trust in his omnipotence was the only bond which kept them together. The progress of the enemy was rendering the danger more urgent every day, yet help was so near; it depended upon one man alone to put a swift end to the general distress: Prince von Eggenberg received the order for the third and last time to induce his friend to take over the command, "at whatever sacrifice."

He found him at Znaim in Moravia, pompously surrounded by his troops. Wallenstein received the envoy of his sovereign like a begging petitioner. "Never," was his answer, "could he trust a restoration for which he had to thank the extremity and not the justice of the emperor. It was true that now they came to him in the darkest hour of distress when from his army alone salvation was to be hoped; however, the service rendered would soon make its creator forgotten, and the old security would again beget the old ingratitude. His whole fame and reputation were at stake if he was to disappoint the expectations which the people had set upon him, and his happiness and rest if he succeeded in fulfilling them. Soon the old envy against him would be roused again and the monarch would not hesitate to sacrifice a dispensable servant for a second time. Better for him he should leave at once and of his own free volition a post from which sooner or later the intrigues of his enemies could not fail to oust him. Security and contentedness he expected only in the seclusion of his private life, and only to oblige the emperor had he for a time, reluctantly enough, left the happy tranquillity of his home."

Presently the minister, tired of this protracted fake, assumed a serious tone and threatened the obstinate man with the whole wrath of the monarch if he should persist in his refusal. "Deeply

enough," he declared, "had the emperor humbled himself, and should he have made this great sacrifice in vain, then he could not guarantee that the imploring man would not change into the commanding master, and the monarch avenge his offended dignity upon the rebellious subject. However much Ferdinand may have been at fault, the emperor could demand submissiveness; the man could err, but the sovereign never admit his fault. If the duke of Friedland had suffered under an undeserved judgment, there was a compensation for every loss, and wounds which the emperor himself had inflicted could also be healed by him. If he demanded security for his person and for his titles, then the fairness of the emperor would not refuse him any just demand. The scorned majesty could not be conciliated by any penitence, and disobedience of its commands nullified even the most brilliant merit. The emperor was in need of his services and as emperor he demanded them. Whatever price he might set upon them, the emperor would grant. But he demanded obedience or the weight of his ire would crush the refractory servant."

Wallenstein, whose extensive possessions, shut in by the Austrian monarchy, were exposed at any moment to forcible proceedings on the part of the emperor, vividly felt that these were no idle threats, but it was not fear which finally conquered his pretended stubbornness. This peremptory tone

clearly revealed to him the weakness and despair of its source, and the readiness of the emperor to grant all his demands convinced him that he had reached the goal of his wishes. He yielded to the eloquence of Eggenberg and left him to formulate his requirements.

The envoy awaited anxiously the document in which the proudest servant took it upon himself to lay down the law to the proudest of princes. Little confidence as he had in the modesty of his friend, the exorbitant demands made in this document surpassed by far even his worst fears. Wallenstein asked for a supreme and unrestricted command over all German armies of the Austrian and of the Spanish House, and for an unlimited authority to punish and to reward. Neither the king of Hungary, nor the emperor himself, was to appear in the army or to attempt any acts of command in it. The emperor had no right to make any appointments whatsoever in the army, or to bestow any favors, and no imperial warrant should be valid without Wallenstein's sanction. Furthermore, the duke of Friedland should have the privilege to dispose of all and everything that was confiscated or conquered in the empire, to the exclusion of all imperial and supreme courts of the land. For his ordinary reward one of the imperial patrimonial dominions was to be given to him, and as an extraordinary present, another of the coun-

tries conquered in the empire. All Austrian provinces should be open to him as a place of refuge in case of need. Besides this he demanded the duchy of Mecklenburg when peace was established once more, and a formal early notice if the emperor should deem it advisable to depose him a second time.

In vain the minister urged the duke to modify these demands by which the emperor would be deprived of all his sovereign rights over the troops and degraded to the rank of a subordinate of his field marshal. He had disclosed too much of the need of his services to be able to command the price at which they could be bought. The use which Wallenstein had in mind to make of his army—admittedly different from the purpose for which it was given to him—did not permit a divided power and still less a higher authority in the army than his own. In order to be the sole master of its will, he had to appear to the troops as the sole master of their fate, and if he wanted to substitute himself gradually for his sovereign and transfer all the latter's rights to himself, then he had carefully to remove this highest authority out of the sight of his troops. Hence his stubborn refusal to tolerate any prince of the Austrian dynasty in the army. The privilege to dispose of all confiscated and conquered possessions in the empire as he thought fit, placed in his hands the means to buy

adherents and other pliant tools and to play the dictator in Germany more than even an emperor had dared to do in times of peace. By means of the prerogative to use the Austrian countries as places of refuge in case of need, he gained an unrestricted power to hold the emperor as a sort of prisoner in his own empire by virtue of his own army; to drain the vitality of these countries and to undermine the Austrian power in its very foundations. Whatever the decision might be, he had well provided for his advantages through the terms which he was extorting from the emperor. But how could he believe in the validity of a contract which had been forced upon his sovereign and which was based upon crime? How could he expect to bind the emperor by an injunction which condemned to death him who had the presumption to make it? Whatever may have been the thoughts of Ferdinand, this death-deserving criminal was at present the most indispensable man in the monarchy, and the emperor, practiced in simulation himself, granted everything he demanded.

At last the imperial military forces had a leader who deserved the name. All other authority in the army, even that of the emperor, ceased in the moment when Wallenstein took up his baton, and everything was invalid that did not emanate from him. From the banks of the Danube to the Weser and to the Oder, one sensed the rising of a new star.

A fresh spirit began to fill the soldiers of the emperor and a new epoch of the war commenced. The Catholics indulged in fresh hopes and the Protestants looked anxiously upon the changed aspect of things.

Wallenstein was in no hurry to fulfill the extravagant expectations of the court. Near Bohemia with a formidable army, he only needed to show himself in order to drive the Saxons out of this kingdom. But his plan was not to overpower the Saxons, but to unite with them. Solely occupied with this important plan, he kept his army at rest for the time being to conquer all the more certainly by negotiations. He left nothing untried to alienate the elector from the Swedish alliance, and Ferdinand himself, still inclined to conclude peace with this prince, approved of these proceedings. But Johann Georg did not intend to forsake the Swedish king, to whom he owed much, for the doubtful promises of a treacherous Wallenstein, and the latter reluctantly determined to conquer by force of arms what he had failed to do through negotiating. He swiftly drew his armies together and stood in front of Prague before the Saxons had time to relieve the town. After a short resistance of the besieged troops, the treachery of the Capuchins opened the gate to one of his regiments and the garrison surrendered under the most shameful terms. Master of the capital, Wallenstein insured his negotiations

at the Saxon court a better reception, but he did not fail to give emphasis to them by another decisive blow just at the time when he was renewing these negotiations with General von Arnheim. He hurriedly took possession of all the narrow passes between Aussig and Pirna with a view of preventing the Saxon army from retreating into their own country, but Arnheim's alertness fortunately succeeded in averting this danger. With his retreat the last places held by the Saxons, Eger and Leitmeritz, surrendered to the victor, and quicker than it had been lost, the kingdom was again under its rightful master.

To further his own plans Wallenstein now contemplated carrying the war into Saxony, in order to force the elector to an agreement with the emperor, or rather, with the duke of Friedland. But circumstances intervened and he had to attend to more urgent business. While he was driving the Saxons out of Bohemia, Gustavus Adolphus had achieved the victories on the Rhine and the Danube related in a previous chapter, and carried the war through Franconia and Suabia to Bavaria's frontiers. Defeated on the river Lech, and deprived of his greatest support through the death of Tilly, Maximilian implored the emperor to send the duke of Friedland as quickly as possible from Bohemia to his assistance, and to remove the danger from Austria by the defense of Bavaria. He even asked

Wallenstein himself, and urgently requested him to dispatch a few regiments until he could follow with the main army. Ferdinand supported this request with his whole prestige, and one courier after another was sent to Wallenstein to induce him to march toward the Danube.

This situation plainly showed how much the emperor sacrificed when he relinquished all his power over his troops and the right to issue commands. Indifferent to Maximilian's requests, and deaf to the repeated urging of the emperor, Wallenstein remained inactive in Bohemia and left the elector to his fate. The memory of Maximilian's actions in the days of the Regensburg diet was indelibly impressed upon the duke, and the recent efforts of the elector to prevent his restoration to power had not remained secret from him. Now the moment had arrived to avenge this slight, and the elector experienced to his cost the bitter enemy he had made for himself. Bohemia, Wallenstein declared, must not be left undefended, and Austria could not be better protected than by having the Swedish army weaken itself before the Bavarian fortresses. Thus he punished his enemy through the arms of Sweden, and while one place after another was falling into their hands, the elector waited in vain for his arrival. It was not until the complete subjugation of Bohemia left him no further excuses and the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus in Bavaria were

threatening even Austria with imminent danger that he yielded to the urgent requests of the elector and of the emperor, and joined Maximilian.

Eger, where the junction of the two armies took place, had been selected by Wallenstein as the scene of the triumph which he was about to celebrate over his opponent. Not content to see him begging at his feet, he compelled him to leave his countries helpless behind him in order that he could join his far distant protector; through this great concession he made a humble confession of his dire need and distress.

Much as it hurt the pride of Maximilian to be under the command of an imperial servant, the duke was flattered by the thought that he could lay down the law to the elector of Bavaria. It came to a bitter quarrel over this matter which, however, ended to the advantage of Wallenstein. The latter was given supreme command over both armies, especially on the day of a battle, and the elector was denied all authority to alter the battle array or even the marching route of the armies. Nothing was reserved to him but the punishment and reward of his own soldiers and their employment as long as they were not operating together with the imperial troops.

After all these preliminaries the two rivals at last ventured to face each other, but not before all the formalities of a reconciliation had been ob-

served to the smallest detail. According to the arrangement both princes embraced each other in front of the troops and gave mutual assurances of friendship while their hearts were bursting with hatred. Maximilian, who was a past master in the art of simulation, had enough self-control not to betray his true feelings by a single move, but in Wallenstein's eyes sparkled the malicious triumph of victory, and the restraint which could be noticed in his whole attitude revealed what was going on in his proud heart.

Th united armies now constituted a force of nearly 60,000 men, mostly trained soldiers whom the Swedish monarch could not dare to attack in the open field. Having failed to prevent their union he now retreated to Franconia and awaited a decisive move on the part of the enemy which would influence his own decisions. The position of the united army between the Saxon and the Bavarian frontier left it uncertain for a time whether they were going to transfer the scene of action to the former or attempt to drive the Swedes back from the Danube and relieve Bavaria. Saxony had been denuded of troops by Arnheim to make conquests in Silesia, not without the secret intention, it seems, to facilitate Wallenstein's entry into the electorate, and to give the vacillating mind of Johann Georg a strong incentive to come to an agreement with the emperor. Gustavus Adolphus, in

the certain expectation that the intentions of Wallenstein were directed against Saxony, and not desirous of leaving his ally helpless, hurriedly sent a considerable reënforcement to him, firmly resolved, as soon as circumstances permitted, to follow with his entire force. The movements of Wallenstein's armies, however, soon showed him that they were advancing against him and the march of the duke through the Upper Palatinate left no possible doubt of it. Now the problem was to provide for his own safety. The approach of the enemy took him by surprise before he had time to assemble his troops, which were scattered all over Germany, and to call the allied princes to his assistance. Much too weak to be able to check the advance of the enemy, he had no other choice than to throw himself into Nürnberg and run the risk of being shut in by Wallenstein's army and probably starved into surrender, or of sacrificing this town and awaiting reënforcements under cover of the Donauwörth guns. Indifferent to all hardships and dangers where humanity was concerned and honor was at stake, he chose the former, firmly resolved to bury himself with his entire army under the ruins of Nürnberg rather than to accomplish his rescue by sacrificing this allied town.

Preparations were immediately set on foot to surround the city with all its suburbs by fortifications and to erect a fortified camp within. Many

thousand hands set to work upon this extensive undertaking and the inhabitants of Nürnberg vied with each other in their zeal to stake life and property for the common cause. A moat eight feet deep and twelve feet wide encircled the entire fortification; the lines were protected by redoubts and bastions, and the entrances by "half moons." The river Pegnitz, which flows through Nürnberg, divided the camp into two semi-circles that were connected by several bridges. About three hundred cannons were mounted on the walls of the town and on the defense works of the camp. The country people from the neighboring villages and the citizens of Nürnberg gave the Swedish soldiers a helping hand, so that on the seventh day the army could take up its quarters and on the fourteenth the whole enormous task was finished.

While this was going on outside the city walls, the magistrates of Nürnberg worked hard to fill the store-houses and armories with provisions and war requirements for a protracted siege. Preparations were made to care for the health of the inhabitants, which might easily be endangered by the crowding together of so many people, and excellent sanitary arrangements were made. In order to support the king in case of extreme need, the young generation was drafted from the citizens of the town and drilled in military exercises, while the existing militia was considerably reënforced. In



Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland.

the meantime Gustavus Adolphus had called upon his allies, Duke Wilhelm of Weimar and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, for assistance and ordered his generals on the Rhine, in Thuringia, and Lower Saxony to come at once to his aid at Nürnberg. His army within the lines of this imperial city did not much exceed 16,000 men,—less than one-third the number of the hostile force.

The latter, meanwhile, had slowly advanced to Neumarkt, where the duke of Friedland held a general review. Carried away by the sight of this formidable array, he could not suppress a youthful boastfulness. "Within four days we shall see," he exclaimed, "who of the two, the king of Sweden or the duke of Friedland, is to be master of the world." And yet, in spite of his great superiority, he did nothing to carry out his boast, and even neglected the opportunity to defeat his enemy when the latter was daring enough to face him outside his lines. "Enough battles have been fought," he answered those who were encouraging him to strike; "now it is time to adopt another method!"

It became evident how much more had been gained by choosing a general whose fame and renown were not in need of hazardous enterprises through which others have to make a name for themselves. Convinced that the desperate courage of the enemy would certainly cost the victor dearly, and that a defeat suffered in these territories would

ruin the cause of the emperor once for all, Wallenstein was content to weaken the impetuosity of the opponent by a protracted siege, and to deprive him of the advantage of dashing courage in attacks through which he had hitherto been invincible. Without making a single hostile move, he erected a strongly fortified camp beyond the river Rednitz, opposite Nürnberg, and in this well-selected position blocked all supplies from Franconia, Suabia and Thuringia, both to the town and to the camp. He was thus holding the king and at the same time the town in a siege, intending to starve his adversary, whom he was not keen to test in an open battle. He had underrated the resources of his opponent and neglected to guard against a dearth of provisions in his own camp. The country people had left the entire surrounding district with their stores and for the little that remained the foragers of the duke of Friedland had to fight with those of the Swedes. For the king spared the stores of the town as long as there was a possibility of getting provisions in the neighborhood, and these alternating foraging expeditions kept up a continuous skirmish between the Croatian soldiers and the Swedes.

The surrounding country naturally suffered utter ruin. Sword in hand, one had to fight for the necessities of life, and foraging could not be done without strong escorts. To the king, the

town of Nürnberg opened its storehouses as soon as actual want was felt, but Wallenstein had to get his supplies for his troops from a great distance. A large transport, purchased in Bavaria, was on the way to him, and a thousand men were dispatched to escort it safely to the camp. Informed of this, Gustavus Adolphus at once sent forth a regiment of cavalry to take possession of the convoy, and the darkness of the night favored his enterprise. The entire transport, together with the town in which it had stopped overnight, fell into the hands of the Swedes; the imperial escort was sabered down, about 1,200 beasts were driven off and 1,000 wagons, loaded with bread, which could not very well be brought away, were set on fire. Seven regiments which the duke of Friedland ordered to advance upon Altdorf, to serve as a cover for the much needed transport, were routed by the king, who had done likewise to cover the retreat of his people; after a stubborn fight they were driven back to the imperial camp, leaving 400 dead. These adversities and the unexpected determination of the king made the duke of Friedland regret that he allowed the opportunity for a battle to pass without using it. Now the strength of the Swedish camp made every attack impossible, and Nürnberg's armed youth served the monarch as a great training school from which he was able to replace quickly every loss in soldiers. The want of pro-

visions that made itself felt in the imperial camp as well as with the Swedes made it very uncertain which of the two parties would first compel the other to leave. Fifteen days passed and still the two armies, protected by equally strong fortifications, had been facing each other without venturing more than outpost fights and insignificant skirmishes. On both sides contagious diseases, the natural consequence of bad food and close crowding of people, had depleted the troops more than the sword of the enemy, and the danger was daily increasing. At last the long expected help arrived in the Swedish camp, and the strong reënforcements of the king permitted him to obey the impulses of his natural courage and to break the fetters which hitherto had kept him bound.

In obedience to his orders, Duke Wilhelm of Weimar had hurriedly gathered an army corps from the garrisons in Lower Saxony and Thuringia which was joined at Schweinfurt in Franconia by four Saxon regiments, and soon afterward at Kitzingen with those troops from the Rhine which Landgrave Wilhelm of Hesse-Cassel and the Palatinate count of Birkenfeld sent to the assistance of the king. Chancellor Oxenstierna took it upon himself to lead this combined army to its destination; on his way he was reënforced at Windenheim by Duke Bernhard of Weimar and by the Swedish general Banner, whereupon he advanced

by forced marches to Brück and Eltersdorf, crossing the river Regnitz, and arriving safely in the Swedish camp. The force amounted to nearly 50,000 men, carrying sixty pieces of cannon and 4,000 baggage wagons. Thus Gustavus Adolphus saw himself at the head of about 70,000 soldiers without counting the militia of Nürnberg, which in extreme need could place 30,000 sturdy citizens in the field, —a formidable force which faced a no less powerful one. The whole war now seemed to concentrate upon a single battle and Europe anxiously awaited the impending struggle.

But if the armies had suffered from want of bread before the arrival of help, the evil grew in both camps (for Wallenstein too had received fresh reënforcements from Bavaria) to an alarming extent. Besides the 120,000 soldiers who were facing each other; besides the more than 50,000 horses in both armies; besides the inhabitants of Nürnberg, who by far exceeded the Swedish army in numbers; there were 15,000 women in Wallenstein's camp alone and twice as many drivers and servants. A similar swarm filled the Swedish camp. The custom of those days permitted the soldier to take his family with him into the field. No wonder that these wandering nations starved out every district where they settled and that the prices for the necessities of life rose enormously. All the mills round Nürnberg were not sufficient to grind the

flour for one day's consumption and 5,000 pounds of bread which the town delivered daily into the camp only whetted the hunger without satisfying it. The greatest care of the magistrate of Nürnberg could not prevent many of the horses from dying through want of fodder and the increasing epidemic sent over a hundred people to their graves every day.

To end this misery, Gustavus Adolphus, full of confidence in his superior power, finally left his lines on the fifty-fifth day, showed himself to the enemy in full battle array and bombarded the imperial camp with three batteries which were stationed on the bank of the river Rednitz. The duke remained immovable behind his fortifications, content to answer this challenge with the fire from his muskets and guns from a distance. It was his deliberate purpose to wear out the king by inactivity and to conquer his perseverance by the force of hunger, and no remonstrances of Maximilian, no impatience of the army, and no scoffing of the enemy could shake him in this determination. Disappointed in his hope and driven by the growing distress, Gustavus Adolphus decided to try the impossible, and the order was given to storm the camp which had been made impregnable both by nature and design.

After he had delivered his camp into the protection of the Nürnberg militia, on St. Bartholomew's

day, the fifty-eighth since the army took up its quarters, he advanced in full battle order out of his lines and crossed the Rednitz at Fürth, where he succeeded in pushing back the hostile outposts with little effort. On the steep heights between the rivers Biber and Rednitz, called the old stronghold, and Altenberg, was the main force of the enemy, and the camp itself, commanded by these hills, spread out over the fields as far as the eye could reach. The whole strength of the guns was assembled on these elevations. Insurmountable fortifications were encircled by deep moats, close breastworks and spiked stockades barricaded the access to the steeply rising hill from whose summit Wallenstein, calm and secure like a god, hurled his lightnings through the black clouds of smoke.

Behind the breastworks flashed the murderous fire of the muskets and certain death grinned from the muzzles of a hundred cannon. It was this dangerous post that Gustavus Adolphus decided to attack and 500 musketeers, supported by a few foot soldiers (it was impossible for more than a few men to fight alongside on this narrow ground), had the doubtful honor of being the first to throw themselves into this open abyss of death. Ferocious was the attack, terrible the resistance. Without breastworks, exposed to the whole fierceness of the hostile gunfire and enraged by the sight of inevitable death, these determined soldiers rushed

against the hill, which instantly became a flaming volcano, unloading a hail of iron upon them. The serried ranks dissolved and the steadfast crowd of heroes, balked by the united forces of man and nature, turned to flight after leaving a hundred dead. They were Germans whom Gustavus Adolphus's partiality had destined for the fatal honor of bearing the first brunt of the attack; enraged by their retreat, he now led his Finns to the front, in order to put the German cowardice to shame by their northern bravery. Received by a similar hail of fire, they too gave way to the superior force and a fresh regiment took their place to renew the charge, with the same result. This regiment was relieved by a fourth, a fifth and a sixth, so that during the ten hours of the fight all had come to the attack and every one of them had returned torn and bleeding from this inferno. A thousand mangled bodies were stretched on the field and still Gustavus Adolphus, unconquered, continued the assaults, and Wallenstein, unshaken, maintained his position.

Meanwhile a stubborn fight had developed between the imperial cavalry and the left wing of the Swedes, which had been stationed in an ambush on the Rednitz, in which the battle raged with alternating fortune, much blood being shed on both sides and many brave deeds performed. The horses of the duke of Friedland, and of Prince Bernhard of Weimar were shot from under their riders, and

a cannon ball tore a piece out of the king's boot. With unabated fury the conflict continued, until at last the approaching night darkened the battle field and forced the embittered foes to rest. The Swedes however had advanced too far to undertake a retreat without peril. While the king was trying to find an officer who could convey to the regiments the order to retreat, Colonel Hebron, a brave Scotsman, presented himself,—a man whom only his natural courage had prompted to leave the camp to share the dangers of this day.

Angry with the king who had quite recently, in a very hazardous action, preferred a younger officer to him, he had made the impetuous vow never to draw his sword again for the king. To him Gustavus Adolphus turned and, lauding his courage and bravery, requested him to command the regiments to retreat. "Sire," replied the valiant colonel, "that is the only service which I cannot refuse your Majesty, as there is something daring in it," and he galloped off to carry out the order. Although Duke Bernhard of Weimar in the heat of the battle had managed to take possession of an elevation above the old stronghold which was within range of the hill and the entire camp, a heavy shower that had fallen during the previous night made the roads so slippery that it was impossible to drag the cannons up the height, so the place which had been won

with streams of blood had to be given up voluntarily. The king did not venture to continue the attack on the following day with his exhausted troops and, defeated for the first time, he led his troops back across the Rednitz. Two thousand dead were left behind on the battle field and the duke of Friedland stood unconquered in his lines.

For a period of fourteen days after this action the armies remained in their positions, each expecting to compel the other to break up first. The more the wretched stock of provisions dwindled away, the more terrible grew the hardships of the famine, the more brutalized became the soldier; and the neighboring peasant was made the victim of his bestial rapacity. The increasing distress dissolved all bonds of discipline and order in the Swedish camp, and the German regiments especially distinguished themselves by outrageous deeds which they committed against friend and foe alike. The weak hand of one man was not able to check a lawlessness which received an apparent sanction in the silence of the subaltern commanders, and frequently even encouragement by their own reprehensible example. The monarch was deeply grieved over this disgraceful breaking down of discipline on which he had prided himself, and the strong language he used in reproaching the German officers for their neglect is an evidence of his sentiments.

"You Germans," he exclaimed, "it is you, only

you, who rob your own Fatherland and vent your rage upon your own brethren in creed. God is my witness, I loathe you; I have only a feeling of repulsion against you, and my blood rises whenever I look at you. You are the transgressors of my laws, you are the cause that the world is cursing me, that the tears of guiltless poverty are haunting me, that I have to hear in public: 'The king, our friend, does us more harm than our bitterest foes!' For your sake I denuded my crown of its treasures and spent forty tons of gold; but from your German empire I have not received so much as even to clothe myself with. Everything that God has bestowed upon me I have given unto you, and if you would have respected my laws, everything that He may yet give me in the future I would have cheerfully divided amongst you. Your bad discipline convinces me that you are wicked at heart, however much cause I may have to praise your valor!"

Nürnberg had exerted itself beyond its strength to feed the enormous mass of people who were crowded together within its limits for eleven weeks; at last, however, all means failed and the king, with the more numerous force, had to make up his mind to depart first. More than 10,000 of the inhabitants had been buried and Gustavus Adolphus had lost 20,000 of his soldiers through fighting and disease. All the surrounding fields were devastated, the villages were in ashes, the peasants were

starving in the highways, pestilential odors vitiated the atmosphere, epidemics were raging among man and beast, and for a long time after the departure of the army want and misery still oppressed the land. Moved by the general distress and despairing of overcoming the perseverance of the duke of Friedland, the king broke his camp on the 8th of September and left Nürnberg, after he had provided it with an adequate garrison for the sake of safety. He marched past the enemy in full order of battle, but Wallenstein did not budge, nor undertake the slightest move to disturb his march. He turned to Neustadt-on-the-Aisch and Windsheim, where he remained five days to rest and feed his troops, and to be near Nürnberg should the enemy undertake anything against this town.

Wallenstein, who was also in need of recuperation, had only been waiting for the departure of the Swedes in order that he might go himself. Five days later he also left his camp at Zirndorf and ordered it destroyed by fire. A hundred pillars of smoke which ascended to Heaven from the burning villages in the neighborhood, punctuated his line of march and showed the town the fate it had escaped. His march led in the direction of Forchheim and was marked by dreadful devastations; but he had traveled too fast and too far to be overtaken by the king. The latter now divided his army, which the exhausted country was unable to

support, with the intention of holding Franconia with one part and of continuing his conquests in Bavaria with the other under his personal command.

Meanwhile the imperial-Bavarian army had advanced into the bishopric of Bamberg, where the duke of Friedland held a second review of his troops. He found that his force of 60,000 had diminished through desertion, fighting and disease to 24,000, of whom one-fourth consisted of Bavarians. Thus the camp of Nürnberg had depleted both armies more seriously than two great battles would have done, without having brought the war any nearer its finish or satisfying the eager expectations of breathless Europe. Although the conquests of the king in Bavaria had experienced a serious check by the diversion at Nürnberg and Austria was safe against a hostile invasion, Wallenstein had also given him by his departure the opportunity of making Bavaria again the scene of action. Indifferent to the fate of this country, and tired of the restraint which the alliance of the elector imposed upon him, the duke of Friedland eagerly embraced the opportunity to separate from his irksome companion and to pursue his favorite scheme with renewed earnestness. Still clinging to his former maxim to separate Saxony from Sweden, he chose this country as his winter quarters, and hoped by his presence alone to force Johann Georg to make a separate peace.

No time could be more favorable to this enterprise. The Saxons had invaded Silesia, where, reënforced by Brandenburg and Swedish troops, they gained one advantage after another over the armies of the emperor. Through a diversion upon the elector in his own states, Silesia could be saved, and the work was all the easier as Saxony was stripped of defenders by the Silesian war and on all sides open to the enemy. The necessity to save an Austrian dominion was sufficient refutation of all objections on the part of the elector of Bavaria, and under the cloak of patriotic zeal for the best advantage of the emperor, Wallenstein could sacrifice Bavaria in all serenity. In leaving the rich country of Bavaria a prey to the king of Sweden, he hoped not to be disturbed by him in the Saxon invasion. The increasing estrangement between Gustavus Adolphus and the Saxon court did not promise unusual efforts on his part for the rescue of Johann Georg. Abandoned again by his deceitful protector, the elector of Bavaria separated from Wallenstein at Bamberg to defend his country with the small remnants of his troops, while the imperial army made its way through Bayreuth and Coburg to the Thuringian forest under the duke's command.

An imperial general, von Holk, had been sent in advance to the Vogtland with 6,000 horsemen to devastate this province with fire and sword. Soon after him, Gallas was dispatched, another general

in the duke's service and an equally devoted tool of his inhuman orders. Finally, Count Pappenheim was recalled from Lower Saxony to reënforce the weakened army of the duke and to make Saxony's misery complete. Destroyed churches, villages in ashes, wasted crops, robbed families and murdered subjects marked the marching route of these barbarians; the whole of Thuringia, Vogtland and Meissen were ruined by this three-fold scourge. But they were only the forerunners of the still greater misery with which the duke himself, at the head of the main army, threatened the unfortunate country of Saxony. After the latter had left the most fearful traces of his fury on his march through Franconia and Thuringia, he appeared with his entire force in the Leipzig district and after a short siege, compelled the town of Leipzig to surrender. His intention was to penetrate as far as Dresden and, by subjugating the entire country, prescribe laws to the elector. He was already approaching the river Mulde to defeat with his superior numbers the Saxon army which had advanced against him as far as Torgau, when the arrival of the king of Sweden at Erfurt put an unexpected end to his plans of conquest. Hemmed in between the Saxon and the Swedish forces which Duke Georg of Lüneburg was about to reënforce from Lower Saxony, Wallenstein hurriedly retreated toward Merseburg, there to unite with Pappenheim and to

push the invading Swedes back with all possible vigor.

Gustavus Adolphus had been looking with great anxiety upon the artifices which Spain and Austria were using to alienate his ally from him. Important as the alliance with Saxony was, he had much more cause to be alarmed over the fickle mind of Johann Georg. The relation between him and the elector had never ripened into a sincere friendship. To a prince who was proud of his political importance and accustomed to regard himself as the head of his party, the intervention of a foreign power in the affairs of the empire must have been a source of suspicion and annoyance, and the disgust with which he looked upon the progress of this unwelcome foreigner had only been suppressed for the time being, involved by the difficulties in which his states were. The growing prestige of the king in Germany, his preponderating influence over the Protestant princes, the apparent proofs of his ambitious intentions, serious enough to mobilize the whole vigilance of the princes of the Union, caused a thousand apprehensions in the mind of the elector which the imperial negotiators knew how to nurse with skill. Every step of the king, every demand however fair, which he made of the princes, gave the elector cause for bitter complaints which seemed to portend that a break was imminent. Even among the generals of both

parties, whenever they had to operate together, frequent instances of jealousy manifested themselves which set their sovereigns at variance. Johann Georg's natural aversion to the war and his lingering devotion to Austria favored Arnheim's endeavors. In full agreement with Wallenstein, he was working indomitably to induce his master to come to an understanding with the duke of Friedland. And if his representations did not for a long time find a willing ear, yet later events proved that they had not been wholly without effect.

CHAPTER IX

THE DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, plainly fearing the consequences which the separation of Saxony from his party was bound to have for his whole future existence in Germany, did not leave a stone unturned to prevent this serious step and his representations had not altogether missed their impression upon the elector. However, the enormous power with which the emperor supported his tempting proposals and the misery which he threatened to heap upon Saxony, in case he should refuse any longer, must finally overcome the steadfastness of the elector if he remained exposed to his enemies, and such indifference toward an important ally might destroy the confidence of all the other allies of Sweden in their protector. Reflections of this sort prompted the king to yield a second time to the urgent requests which the seriously menaced Johann Georg sent to him and to sacrifice all his glorious expectations to the rescue of this ally. He had already decided on a second attack upon Ingolstadt, and the weakness of the

elector of Bavaria justified his hope of being able to force neutrality upon this exhausted enemy. The revolt of the peasants in Upper Austria would then open him the way into this country and the seat of the imperial throne could be in his possession before Wallenstein had time to arrive with his relief. He gave up all these plans for the benefit of an ally who was neither by merit nor by virtue of his good intentions worthy of the sacrifice; who only served his own advantage with paltry selfishness, and who was not important through the services which were expected from him, but only through the harm that he might do. And who can suppress resentment when he remembers that the way on which Gustavus Adolphus now embarked to rescue this prince led him to his death—the final goal of all his earthly deeds?

He quickly drew together his troops in the Franconian district and followed the army of Wallenstein through Thuringia. Duke Bernhard of Weimar, who had been sent ahead against Pappenheim, at Arnstadt joined the king, who saw himself now at the head of 20,000 men, all experienced soldiers. At Erfurt he took leave of his consort, who was not to see him again until in Weissenfels—on his bier; the portentous farewell bespoke separation forever. He reached Naumburg on the 1st of November, 1632, before the army corps of the duke of Friedland, which had been detached to

this place, could take possession of it. The people from the surrounding districts were gathering in crowds to admire the hero, the avenger, the great king, who a year before had arrived on this soil like a guardian angel. Cheers greeted him wherever he showed himself; everybody fell on his knees to adore him; they quarreled for the favor of touching the sheath of his sword and kissing the hem of his garment. To the modest hero this innocent tribute was distasteful, although it was rendered in sincere gratitude and admiration. "Does it not seem as if these people make a god of me?" he said to his companions. "All is well with our affairs, but I am afraid that Heaven will avenge itself upon me for this daring blasphemy and soon enough reveal to this foolish crowd my weak, mortal humanity." How lovable does Gustavus Adolphus show himself before he bids farewell to earth forever!

Meanwhile the duke of Friedland had turned against the advancing king at Weissenfels, determined to hold the winter quarters in Saxony, even if it should cost a battle. His inactivity before Nürnberg had exposed him to the suspicion that he did not care to measure his strength with the northern hero, and his reputation was in jeopardy if he let the opportunity to fight pass a second time. His superiority in troops, although far less than it had been the first time at Nürnberg, entitled him to the hope of victory if he could succeed in draw-

ing the king into a battle before his union with the Saxons. However his present confidence was based less upon his stronger numbers than upon the assurances of his astrologer Seni, who had been reading in the stars that the fortune of the Swedish king would be doomed in the month of November. Moreover narrow passes were formed between Kamburg and Weissenfels by a continuous ridge of mountains and by the river Saale which flowed near, making it very difficult for the Swedish army to attain headway, since these passes could be blocked with the help of only a few troops. The king in this case had no other choice but to struggle through the defiles at great risk or to undertake a difficult retreat through Thuringia and lose the greater part of his troops in a devastated country. The rapidity with which Gustavus Adolphus took possession of Naumburg set this plan at naught, and now it was Wallenstein himself who expected the offensive.

He found himself disappointed when the king, instead of meeting him half way to Weissenfels, made all preparations to fortify himself in Naumburg and to await there the reënforcements which the duke of Lüneburg was about to send him. Undecided whether he should meet the king in the narrow passes between Weissenfels and Naumburg, or whether he should remain inactive in his camp, he assembled his council of war in order to hear the opinion of his most experienced

generals. None of them thought it advisable to attack the king in his advantageous position, and the preparations which the latter had made for the fortification of his camp seemed to indicate clearly that he did not intend to leave it very soon. The approaching winter would not permit Wallenstein to prolong the campaign and exhaust an army which was so greatly in need of rest. All voted for suspending the campaign—the more so as the important town of Cologne was threatened by Dutch troops, and the progress of the enemy in Westphalia and on the lower Rhine needed careful attention in these districts. The duke of Friedland realized the weight of these reasons and, almost convinced that at this time of the year no attack was to be feared from the king, he sent his troops into winter quarters, but in a way that they could gather quickly, in case the enemy should launch an attack that was not expected. Count Pappenheim was dispatched with a large part of the army in order to hasten to the assistance of the town of Cologne and to take possession of the Halle fortress Moritzburg on his way. Single army corps took up their winter quarters in the most suitable towns of the neighborhood, from which they would be able to watch the movements of the enemy on all sides. Count Colloredo guarded the castle at Weissenfels, and Wallenstein himself remained with the rest not far from Merseburg, between the

"Flossgraben" and the river Saale, whence he intended to march by way of Leipzig to cut off the Saxons from the Swedish army.

No sooner, however, had Gustavus Adolphus learned of Pappenheim's departure than he left his camp at Naumburg, and hurried with his entire force to attack the enemy, who was now weakened by one-half of his original number. By forced marches he advanced upon Weissenfels. The rumor of his arrival rapidly spread to the enemy and caused considerable surprise in the camp of the duke of Friedland. A quick decision now had to be made, and the duke soon decided the means he was going to adopt. Although he had not many more than 12,000 men to oppose the 20,000 of the enemy he hoped that he would be able to hold out until the return of Pappenheim, who at the most could not have marched farther than about five miles on his way to Halle. Couriers were hurriedly sent to call him back and at the same time Wallenstein retired to the great plain between the Flossgraben and Lützen, where he awaited the king in full battle array, and in this position separated him from Leipzig and the Saxon people.

Three cannon shots which Count Colloredo fired from the castle at Weissenfels announced that the king had begun his march, and upon this pre-arranged signal the ducal advance guard concentrated under the command of the Croatian general

Isolani, to occupy the villages on the river Rippach. Their weak resistance was not able to check the advance of the king, who crossed the river at the village of Rippach and took up his position to the south of Lützen, opposite the imperial battle lines. The highway leading from Weissenfels to Leipzig is cut by the Flossgraben between Lützen and Markranstädt, which stretches from Zeitz to Merseburg and connects the rivers Elster and Saale. The left wing of the imperialists rested upon this canal, as did the right wing of the king of Sweden, but in such a way that the cavalry of both overlapped it. To the north behind Lützen was Wallenstein's right wing, and to the south of this little town the left wing of the Swedish force had halted. Both armies faced the road which cut through between them and divided the battle lines. Wallenstein had taken possession of this highway during the night, to the great disadvantage of his opponent; moreover he had the ditches that skirted the roads on either side deepened and secured by a guard of musketeers, so that the crossing could not be made without great effort and risk. Behind them towered a battery of seven large cannons, to support the musket fire from the ditches, while near the windmills in the neighborhood of Lützen fourteen smaller fieldpieces had been mounted on an elevation which commanded a considerable portion of the plain.

The infantry, having been divided into five large and unwieldy brigades, stood in battle line at a distance of three hundred paces behind the highway, and the cavalry covered the flanks. All the baggage had been sent to Leipzig so as not to encumber the movements of the army, and only the ammunition wagons were stationed behind the lines. In order to conceal the weakness of his army, all the baggage hands and camp servants were mounted on horseback and attached themselves to the left wing until Pappenheim's troops could arrive. The whole of this arrangement was made in the stillness of the night and before dawn everything was ready for the reception of the enemy. The same evening Gustavus Adolphus appeared on the opposite plain and arranged his soldiers for the impending battle. The order was the same with which he won the victory at Leipzig a year before. Interspersed with the infantry small squadrons were spread out, and among the cavalry individual musketeers were distributed. The entire army was arranged in two lines, the Flossgraben to the right and behind him, the highway in front of him, and to his left the town of Lützen. In the center were the foot soldiers under the command of Count Brahe, with the cavalry on either wing, and the guns before the front. The German cavalry of the left wing was commanded by a German hero, Duke Bernhard of Weimar, and on the right the king

himself was the leader. The second battle line was arranged in similar order, and behind it was a reserve corps under the command of Henderson, a Scotchman.

Thus prepared the armies awaited sunrise to begin a struggle which was more fearful and remarkable because of its having been delayed so long than on account of the importance of the possible consequences, and for the quality rather than the quantity of the troops engaged. The eager expectations of Europe which had been disappointed in the Nürnberg camps were now to be gratified on the plains of Lützen. No two such field marshals, so much alike in prestige, renown and abilities, had as yet in the whole course of this war measured their strength in open battle; such tremendous odds had never yet been at stake, and so great a prize never inspired hope. The dawning day was to show Europe who was to be its leading military master, and give a conqueror of the one who had never been conquered. Whether on the Lech and at Leipzig it had been either Gustavus Adolphus's genius or the incapability of his opponent which determined the outcome, the approaching day would decide beyond the shadow of a doubt. On the morrow the duke of Friedland must justify the choice of the emperor and the greatness of the man must outweigh the vast price for which he had been bought. Every man in the army jealously

guarded his leader's fame and under every armor throbbed the same emotions that were burning in the breasts of the generals. Doubtful was the victory, certain the struggle, and the cost would be crimson to the winner and loser alike. They well knew the enemy whom they were now facing, and the anxiety which they vainly tried to suppress was an eloquent testimonial of the strength of their opponents.

An impenetrable fog which hung over the entire battle field delayed the attack until the noon hour. Kneeling before the front, the king bowed his head in prayer, while his whole army, lying prostrate, poured out its heart in a hymn to the Lord of all creation. After this prayer the king mounted his horse, clad only in a leather jerkin and cloth coat, (an old wound, poorly healed, did not permit him to wear full armor) and rode past the ranks to inspire the troops with confidence—a confidence which he himself lacked. "God with us," was the watchword of the Swedes; "Jesus Maria," that of the imperialists. Toward 11 o'clock the fog began to lift, and the armies could discern each other. The Swedes could see Lützen in flames; it was set on fire by order of the duke in order to prevent his being outflanked from that side. The order to attack was given, the cavalry galloped against the enemy and the infantry advanced upon the ditches.

Despite the terrible fire of the musketry and large cannons behind them, the brave Swedish battalions continued their attack with undaunted courage; the musketeers retreated in confusion, the ditches were taken, the battery was conquered and at once turned upon the enemy. Further and further Gustavus Adolphus's forces rushed with irresistible force; the first of the five Friedland brigades broke, immediately after that the second, and the third was on the verge of flight when the duke's presence of mind asserted itself. With lightning speed he hurried to the spot to check the confusion among the foot soldiers and his furious determination caused the fleeing soldiers to halt. Supported by three cavalry regiments, the defeated brigades began reforming against the enemy and forced their way through his torn ranks. A murderous struggle ensued at such close quarters that there was no room for the use of the musket, since there was no time to reload. It was man against man, the useless firearms were cast aside for sword and pike and battle-axe, and art gave way to desperation. At last, overwhelmed by sheer weight of numbers, the exhausted Swedes began to give way over the ditches, and the conquered battery was again lost. A thousand maimed corpses covered the field and not one foot of ground had been gained.

Meanwhile, the right wing of the king, led by himself, had attacked the enemy's left. The very

first impact of the heavy Finland cuirassiers dispersed the light cavalry of the Poles and Croats who had formed part of this wing, and their disorderly flight threw the rest of the horsemen into confusion. At this moment the king heard that his infantry was in full retreat across the ditches, and that his left wing, which was under the fire of the batteries at the windmills, was in a precarious position. Taking in the situation at a glance he commanded General von Horn to pursue the disordered left wing of the enemy and hurried away at the head of the Stenbock regiment to bring help to his own left wing. His noble horse carried him over the ditches with the swiftness of an arrow, but the squadrons of heavy cavalry following him found the leaping of those ditches more difficult, and only a few riders, among whom Franz Albert, duke of Saxony-Lauenburg is mentioned, were active enough to remain by his side.

Gustavus Adolphus galloped straight to the spot where his foot soldiers were pressed hardest and in glancing around for a weak point upon which he could direct his attack, his shortsightedness caused him to approach the enemy's lines too closely. An imperial non-commissioned officer noticed that everybody was respectfully making room for the passing rider and he commanded a musketeer to aim at him. "Shoot that one over there," he cried, "that must be some distinguished person." The

soldier leveled his gun and fired, and the left arm of the king was smashed. At this moment his squadrons came rushing along, and the cry: "The king is bleeding,—the king has been shot dead," spread fear and terror among them. "It is nothing,—follow me!" exclaimed the king, summoning all his strength; but overcome by pain, and nearly fainting, he requested the duke of Lauenburg in French to carry him out of the *mêlée* without causing too much attention. While the latter was turning to the right with the king, in a wide detour, the latter received a second shot through the back which robbed him of his last strength. "I have enough, brother," he said in a dying voice, "see that you save your own life."

With these words he sank from his horse and, struck by several more bullets, abandoned by all his companions, Gustavus Adolphus breathed his last in the hands of the Croatian horsemen. Soon after his fleeing riderless horse, covered with blood, made known the fall of the king to the Swedish cavalry, who furiously rushed forth to snatch this sacred booty from the enemy. A ferocious struggle ensued over his corpse, and the mangled body was covered by a heap of dead.

The dreadful news spread like wildfire through the entire Swedish army, but instead of paralyzing the courage of those brave soldiers, it aroused them to a frenzied fury which nothing could

stop. What was life now? What was anything since Gustavus Adolphus, the king and hero, had been killed? The whole army gasped in horror, and then in savage fury the Upland, Smaland, Finnish, East and West Goth regiments hurled themselves a second time upon the left wing of the enemy, who could not withstand the attack of these fanatics, and were utterly defeated. At the same time Duke Bernhard of Weimar gave the kingless army of the Swedes an able leader in his own person, and the spirit of Gustavus Adolphus seemed to guide once more his victorious hosts. Order was quickly restored upon the left wing, and with irresistible force the Swedes leaped again upon the imperial right. The guns near the windmills which had hurled such a murderous fire fell into the hands of the Swedes, and presently they were thundering against the enemy himself. The center of the Swedish infantry, under Bernhard's and Knyphausen's command, advanced once more upon the ditches, which were now successfully crossed, and the seven guns captured for the second time. The heavy battalions of the hostile center were assailed with redoubled rage; resistance became weaker and weaker, and chance itself conspired with the Swedish bravery to complete the total defeat of the enemy.

His powder wagons in the rear caught fire, and with a terrific roar all the grenades and bombs were

sent flying in the air. The terrified enemy imagined himself attacked in the rear while the Swedish brigades continued to storm against him from the front. His courage sank, he saw his left wing defeated, his right on the verge of breaking and his guns in the hands of the adversary. The battle drew to its decision, fate hung in the balance for a single moment,—when suddenly Pappenheim appeared on the scene with cuirassiers and dragoons. All the advantages were lost, and an entirely new battle opened.

The order which recalled this general to Lützen had reached him at Halle, while his soldiers were still occupied with the looting of the town. It was impossible to gather the scattered infantry as quickly as the urgent order and the impatience of the general demanded. Without waiting for them, he ordered eight regiments of cavalry to mount, and at the head of them hurried straightway to Lützen to participate in the orgy of battle. He arrived just in time to observe the flight of the imperial left wing before Gustavus Horn, and to be involved in it himself in the beginning. With quick presence of mind, however, he rallied the fleeing people, and led them against the enemy. Carried away by his own wild courage, and full of impatience to fight opposite the king whom he supposed at the head of this wing, he broke furiously into the Swedish ranks, which, exhausted from vic-

tory and too weak in numbers, succumbed to this new flood of enemies after the most desperate resistance. The sinking courage of the imperial foot soldiers was revived by Pappenheim's appearance, all hope of which had been abandoned, and the duke of Friedland quickly used the favorable moment to rally his people in new formations. The serried ranks of the Swedish battalions were driven back across the ditches in a murderous fight, and the twice-lost guns changed hands for the fourth time. The entire yellow regiment, the crack troops of the king, lay dead in the field, still covering in its original formation the ground which it had held with such steadfast bravery while alive. A similar fate overtook another, the blue regiment, which Count Piccolomini had overwhelmed with the imperial cavalry after a furious struggle. This brave leader repeated his attack seven times, seven horses were killed under him, and six musket balls pierced his body, yet he did not leave the battle field before the retreat of the whole army carried him away. The duke himself was seen amidst the rain of bullets, riding through his troops with calm composure, supporting the needy, praising the brave, and frowning upon the despairing. Around and beside him his people were falling mortally wounded and his cloak was riddled by many bullets. But on that day the gods of revenge guarded him and another iron had been sharpened already; on the

field where Gustavus Adolphus died, Wallenstein was not to give up his guilt-laden ghost.

Pappenheim, the Telamon of the army, the most formidable soldier of the Austrian House and of the Church, was less fortunate. The desire to meet the king in person in the struggle carried him into the midst of the tumult, where he supposed he would find his noble enemy. Gustavus Adolphus had cherished an ardent wish to meet this renowned enemy face to face, but their longings were not fulfilled, for only in death did these heroes meet. Two musket balls pierced Pappenheim's scar-covered breast, and he had to be carried out of the battle. While his people were taking him behind the firing line, a rumor reached his ear that he whom he was seeking lay dead on the battle field. When this rumor was substantiated, his countenance lit up, and for a brief moment the fire of enthusiasm sparkled in his eyes: "Then tell the duke of Friedland," he exclaimed, "that I am lying here wounded unto death, but that I am dying cheerfully because I know that this implacable enemy of my creed has fallen with me on the same day."

With Pappenheim the fortune of the imperialists seemed to vanish from the battle field. No sooner did the cavalry of the left wing miss their victorious leader than they counted everything as lost, and sought salvation in wild flight. The same terror also seized the right wing, except only a few regi-

ments which the bravery of their colonels, Goetz, Terzky, Colloredo and Piccolomini, compelled to make a desperate stand. The Swedish infantry quickly made use of the confusion of the enemy. In order to fill the gaps which death had torn in their ranks, both lines were drawn into one and now ventured the last decisive attack. For the third time they crossed the ditches and for the third time the guns behind them were taken.

The sun was setting when the lines crashed together. The struggle became fiercer toward the end, last strength wrestling with last strength, skill and rage doing their utmost to make up in the last precious minutes for the whole lost day. But in vain! Despair made them superhuman; none knew how to conquer, none knew how to give way; new tactics were developed, new masterpieces of military art, never learned before, were brought into practice. At last, darkness and fog put an end to the fighting and the attack ceased when the enemies could no longer see each other. Both armies suspended action, as if by mutual agreement, trumpet signals were sounded, and each, considering itself the victor, withdrew from the field.

The artillery of both parties remained standing, for the horses had run away,—the prize and the proof of victory awaiting him who would occupy the battle field. However, in the haste with which he took leave of Leipzig and the Saxons, the duke

of Friedland forgot to carry his share of the spoils with him. Not long after the fight had ended the foot soldiers of Pappenheim appeared on the scene; they had not been able to keep pace with their general, who was hurrying to the front, and they were now six regiments strong. But the work was done. A few hours earlier this considerable reënforcement would probably have decided the battle in favor of the imperialists; and even now, they might have saved the artillery of the duke and captured that of the Swedes. But there was no order to that effect, and too uncertain of the result of the battle, they made their way to Leipzig where they hoped to find the main army.

The duke of Friedland had retreated to this district, and without guns, without banners, and almost without any weapons, the rest of his scattered army followed him the next morning. It seems that Duke Bernhard of Weimar let the Swedish army rest from the efforts of the day somewhere between Lützen and Weissenfels, near enough to the battle field to be able to defy any attempt of the enemy to conquer it. Over nine thousand dead covered the ground; far greater was the number of wounded, and especially among the imperialists there was hardly a single man who had not received some injury in the battle. The entire plain to the Flossgraben was covered with wounded, dying and dead.

Many of the highest nobility had fallen on either side; even the abbot of Fulda, who had witnessed the battle as a spectator, had to pay for his curiosity and religious zeal with his life. History is silent regarding prisoners; a convincing proof of the fury of the armies who gave no quarter and did not ask it.

Pappenheim died on the following day at Leipzig, an irretrievable loss for the imperial army which he had so often led to victory. The battle of Prague, in which he took part under the command of Wallenstein as colonel, opened his career as a hero. Dangerously wounded, he defeated a hostile regiment solely by his indomitable courage and supported by only a few troops; for many hours he lay under the weight of his horse on the battle field, thought to be dead, until his people discovered him when looting the dead and wounded. He succeeded in beating the rebels in Upper Austria, 40,000 strong, with a very small force, in three different battles; his courage delayed the defeat of Tilly for a long time in the battle of Leipzig and made the arms of the emperor victorious on the Elbe and Weser. This wild, impetuous courage, which shrank from nothing, made him the most formidable assistant of the field marshal, but useless as the head of an army. The battle of Leipzig, if one can believe a statement of Tilly, was lost because of Pappenheim's impetuosity. On his forehead one could

notice two red birthmarks, resembling swords, with which nature had stamped him. In later years these spots appeared, so it is related, whenever his passions were aroused, and superstition easily persuaded his parents that the future vocation of the child had been impressed at birth upon his brow. Such a servant had a just claim upon the gratitude of the Austrian dynasty of both lines; but it was not his to receive its manifestation. The courier was on the way to present him with the order of the golden calf of Madrid, the highest decoration, when death overtook him at Leipzig.

Although in all the Austrian countries and Spanish dominions the *Te Deum* was sung over the victory, Wallenstein clearly admitted his defeat by the haste with which he left Leipzig and the whole of the battle field and abandoned his winter quarters in that country. He made a feeble attempt to snatch a semblance of victory in the eleventh hour by sending out his Croats the next morning to skirmish around the battle field, but the sight of the Swedish army, which was standing there in full battle array, frightened these hosts away. Duke Bernhard, by taking the artillery left on the battle field, assumed undisputed possession of the spoils of the victor, and these were still further increased by the capture of Leipzig immediately afterward.

But it was a dearly bought victory and a sad



Gustavus Adolphus Enters the City of Munich.

triumph. It is not until the heat of a battle has had time to cool down that one feels the whole magnitude of the loss which one has suffered, and the rejoicings of the conquerors die away in gloomy despair. He who had led them into the battle had not returned. There—on the battle field—he lay, a dead king under a veritable hill of other corpses. After a long, vain search the body was at last discovered not far from the large stone which had been seen there for fully a century, between the Flossgraben and Lützen, and which since the day of the disaster had been called the Swedish Stone. Disfigured by blood and wounds, mangled by the hoofs of the horses, robbed of his garments and his jewelry by rapacious hands, he was dragged from under a heap of dead, brought to Weissenfels, and there turned over to his troops and the last embraces of his consort. Revenge had demanded the first tribute, and blood had to flow to atone for the death of the *monarch*; now love came into its right, and tears were flowing for the *man*.

The general grief dimmed all other misery. Still bewildered by the stunning blow, the generals stood around the bier with dulled senses, and none of them dared to think of the whole extent of their loss. The emperor, so Khevenhiller tells us, at the sight of the gory jerkin, which someone had taken away from the king and sent to Vienna, showed a

sympathy which probably came from his heart. "Cheerfully," he exclaimed, "would I have given to the unfortunate man a longer life and a joyful return to his kingdom if this had been in my power, and if peace would have arrived in Germany." However, when a later Catholic historian of acknowledged repute finds this proof of at least a shred of feeling for humanity worthy of the highest praise, and even compares it with the magnanimity of Alexander to the memory of Darius, he awakens in us a peculiar kind of confidence in the worth of his hero, or, which would be worse, in his own ideal of moral worth. Such praise means much with him whom the historian wishes to clear of the suspicion of a royal murder.

It was hardly to be expected that the powerful desire of man for everything that is uncommon would leave the fame of having ended the important life of Gustavus Adolphus to the usual course of nature. The death of this formidable adversary was an event of too great importance to the emperor not to suggest the thought that easily offered itself: namely, to have caused that which was of assistance to him. But for the carrying out of this foul deed, the emperor needed someone else's help, and this "Somebody" a number of people claim that he found in the person of Franz Albert, duke of Saxony-Lauenburg. His rank permitted him free access to the monarch, and the

same high rank served to exempt him from the suspicion of a cowardly murder. It is necessary, however, to show that this prince was really capable of such a dastardly deed and that he had been sufficiently provoked to commit it.

Franz Albert, the youngest of four sons of Franz II, duke of Lauenburg, and related on his mother's side to the Vasa dynasty of princes, had found a friendly reception in his younger years at the Swedish court. An indecency which he committed in the room of the queen dowager against Gustavus Adolphus, was as rumor had it, punished by this fiery youth with a slap on the ear; this blow, although regretted in the same moment and atoned for by complete satisfaction, laid the foundation of an unquenchable enmity in the revengeful heart of the duke. Subsequently Franz Albert entered the service of the emperor and was appointed commander of a regiment because he was closely connected with the duke of Friedland. He allowed himself to be used for a secret negotiation at the Saxon court—an action which certainly did not do honor to his rank. Without giving any serious reasons he quit the Austrian service unexpectedly and appeared at Nürnberg in the king's camp to offer him his services as a volunteer. Through his apparent zeal for the Protestant cause and an obliging and insinuating deportment, he won the confidence of the

king, who, although cautioned by Oxenstierna, lavished his friendship and favors upon the unworthy newcomer. Soon afterward came the battle of Lützen, in which Franz Albert continually remained at the side of the king like a baneful demon, parting from him only when the king had fallen. In the midst of the enemy's fire he remained unhurt because he wore a green sash the color of the imperialists, around his waist. He was the first to inform the duke of Friedland, his friend, of the death of Gustavus Adolphus. Following the battle he changed the Swedish service for the Saxon, and, subsequently arrested in connection with the murder of Wallenstein as one of the conspirators, he only escaped the hangman by swearing off his creed. Finally he appeared again as a commander of an imperial army in Silesia, dying of his wounds before Schweidnitz. It requires considerable self-control to defend a man who had such a career as the one related. Still, if the moral and physical possibility of such a cowardly deed was ever so well founded on circumstantial evidence, it is obvious at first glance that such evidence forms no absolute conclusion in regard to the actual perpetration of the crime. It is well known that Gustavus Adolphus exposed himself to danger in battle like the commonest private in his army, and where thousands fell, he could well find his doom. How he actually did find it, remains

an impenetrable mystery—and as the mystery can never be solved at this late date we should not dishonor the name of Franz Albert as long as there is a plausible explanation in the natural course of events.

By whatever hand Gustavus Adolphus may have fallen, this extraordinary fate must appear to us a grand work of nature. History, often only confined to the thankless task of explaining the monotonous play of human passion, sometimes sees itself rewarded by events which descend like a thunderbolt into the well-calculated clockwork of human activity and enterprise, and guide the reflective mind to a higher order of things. Thus we are confronted with Gustavus Adolphus's swift disappearance from the scene of action, which suddenly stopped the entire gear of the political machine and set at naught all calculations of human foresight and prudence. Yesterday still the throbbing, vital spirit, the great only inspirer of noble deeds; today ruthlessly tumbled to earth from his eagle-like flight, snatched out of a world of schemes, suddenly called away from the ripening seed of all his hopes, he left behind him an orphaned and disconsolate people, and the proud edifice of his evanescent greatness crumbled into ruin.

It was only with difficulty and anguish that the Protestant world abandoned the hopes which it had set upon this invincible leader, and with him,

it feared it must bury all its former good fortune. But it was no longer the benefactor of Germany who fell at Lützen; the charitable half of Gustavus Adolphus's career had ended, and the greatest service which he could render to the freedom of Germany was—to die. The all-absorbing power of the individual disintegrated, and many now tried their strength; the ambiguous assistance of an over-powerful protector gave way to the more laudable self-help of the princes, and while formerly only the instruments for his self-aggrandizement, they now began to work for themselves. They sought in their own courage the means of rescue which were not received without peril from the hand of the mighty, and the Swedish power, rendered incapable of deteriorating into an oppressor, receded within the modest limits of an ally.

It is obvious that the ambitions of the Swedish monarch aspired after an authority in Germany which was incompatible with the liberty of the princes, and also after a permanent possession in the heart of this empire. His aim was the imperial throne, and this dignity, supported by his power and functioning through his activity, was in his hands exposed to a far greater abuse than one had to fear from the Austrian dynasty. Born abroad, brought up in the maxims of autocracy, and the declared enemy of the Catholics through a pious fervency, he was not the man to preserve the sanc-

tity of the German constitution and to respect the freedom of the princes. The objectionable oath of allegiance which, besides several other towns, the imperial city of Augsburg had been induced to take, showed less the protector of the empire than the conqueror, and this city, prouder of the title of a royal town than of the more enviable prerogative of an imperial charter, flattered itself beforehand that it would become the seat of his new empire. His ill-concealed intentions upon the archbishopric of Mainz, which he first disposed of as a dowry for his daughter Christina to the elector of Brandenburg, and afterward to his friend and chancellor Oxenstierna, was ample evidence of the liberties which he could take with the constitution of the empire. The Protestant princes who were allied with him laid claims to his gratitude which could not be satisfied otherwise than at the expense of their fellow sovereigns, and particularly that of the ecclesiastical possessions; perhaps the plan had already been designed to divide the conquered provinces among his Swedish and German war comrades like a common booty, after the manner of those ancient barbarous hordes who were flooding the old Roman Empire. In his attitude toward the count of the Palatinate, Frederick V, he absolutely denied the generosity of the hero and the sacred character of the protector. The Palatinate was in his hands and the duty of both justice

and honor demanded that he restore this province, which was wrested from the Spaniards, to its rightful owner in perfect condition. But through a subtlety which was unworthy of a great man and which disgraced the venerable name of a protector of the oppressed, he managed to shirk his obligation.

He regarded the Palatinate as a conquest that had fallen into his hands from the enemy, and from this fact he thought to derive the right to dispose of it in an arbitrary manner. Thus he ceded it to Count Frederick as an act of grace, not from a feeling of duty, and moreover only as a tenure of the Swedish crown under conditions which diminished the value of it by half and reduced this prince to an abject vassal of Sweden. One of these terms, which dictated to Frederick "to help support part of the Swedish military forces after the finish of the war according to the example of the other princes," gives us a true insight into the fate which was awaiting Germany with the continued success and fortune of the king. His sudden departure from the world assured the German empire of freedom and himself his most glorious fame, even if it did not quite spare him the humiliation of seeing his own allies in arms against him, and of losing all the fruits of his victories in a disadvantageous peace. Already Saxony was inclined to revolt against his party, Denmark regarded his greatness with envy and alarm, and even France, his most

important ally, roused by the formidable growth of his power and by the more peremptory tone which he had adopted in those early days when he crossed the Lech, was looking about for foreign alliances to check the victorious course of the Goth and to restore the balance of power in Europe.

CHAPTER X

THE AFTERMATH OF THE BATTLE OF LÜTZEN

THE frail bond of harmony by which Gustavus Adolphus managed to hold together the Protestant princes of the empire was dissolved with his death; the allies resumed their former state of independence or prepared to make new connections. By acting independently they lost all advantages which they had won with so much blood, and exposed themselves to the inevitable risk of becoming the prey of an enemy to whom they had been superior solely because of their union. Singly neither Sweden nor any of the princes was a match for the league and the emperor, and in a peace concluded under those circumstances they would have been compelled to submit to the terms of the enemy. A union therefore was just as necessary to conclude peace as to continue the war. However, a peace which they might ask in the present situation could not very well be otherwise than to the disadvantage of the Protestants.

With the death of Gustavus Adolphus the enemy's

hopes revived and precarious as his position may have been after the battle of Lützen, the death of his most dangerous adversary was an event too menacing to the allies and too fortunate for the emperor not to justify his greatest expectations and to invite the continuation of the war. The split among the allies was certain to be a consequence of it, at least for a time, and both the emperor and the league must gain much by a division in the camp of the enemy. The great advantages that the turn of events promised him, could not very well be sacrificed for a peace by which he did not gain everything, and such a peace the allies naturally could not desire. To continue the war was the only natural thing to do and the forming of another union was the most indispensable means to accomplish the end.

But how could this union be renewed and whence could the means be taken to strengthen the sinews of war? It was not the power of the Swedish empire but only the spirit and the personal eminence of its dead ruler which had acquired the tremendous influence in Germany, and so great a mastery over the minds; and even he had succeeded only after infinite difficulties in establishing a frail and insecure bond of alliance among the princes. With him everything vanished that had been made possible only through him and his personal qualities, and the obligation of the princes ceased with the hopes upon

which it had been founded. Several of the princes impatiently threw off the yoke which they had borne reluctantly; others hastened themselves to grasp the helm that they had been loath to see in Gustavus Adolphus's hands, but which they did not dare dispute while he was alive. Still others were tempted by alluring promises of the emperor to leave the union, or, ruined by the miseries of a fourteen years' war, longed for peace at any price. The leaders of the armies, partly German princes, did not recognize a common head, and none of them wanted to humble himself by receiving commands from the other. Harmony disappeared from the cabinet and from the field, and the common weal was in grave danger because of this spirit of dissatisfaction.

Gustavus Adolphus left no male successors to the Swedish throne and his six-year-old daughter Christina was the natural heir to it. The inevitable shortcomings of a trustee government were not compatible with the vigor and determination which Sweden had to show in those troublous times. Gustavus Adolphus's genius had won for this weak state a place among the powers of Europe which it could not well maintain without the towering ability of its originator, and which it could not now abandon without the ignominious confession of its own weakness and impotence. Even if the German war was mostly supported from German

resources, the small contribution which Sweden gave in men and money weighed heavily upon this impoverished kingdom, and the farmer was ruined by the burden which the government was forced to impose upon him.

The war booty that had been gained in Germany enriched only a few individual members of the nobility and of the military class, while Sweden herself remained as poor as ever. True, for a time the national glory reconciled the flattered subjects to these burdens, and one could regard the taxes one had to pay as a loan which was bearing a big interest in the hands of Gustavus Adolphus and which would be repaid by this grateful monarch with interest after the conclusion of peace. But these hopes vanished with the death of the king and the disappointed people now clamored that their burden should be lightened.

But the spirit of Gustavus Adolphus still hovered over the men whom he had intrusted with the administration of the kingdom. Not even the terrible news of the king's death could weaken their manly courage, and the spirit of old Rome under Brennus and Hannibal inspired this noble assembly. The dearer the price by which the advantages had been gained the less they could resolve to surrender them voluntarily; they did not propose to lose a king for nothing. The Swedish council, forced to choose between a doubtful, ex-

hausting war, and a useful but ignominious peace, bravely accepted the post of danger and honor. Surrounded at home and abroad by vigilant enemies and threatened by dangers on all the frontiers of the kingdom, they armed the nation thoroughly and courageously and worked for the expansion of the country when others would have been glad simply to maintain its existence.

The death of the king and the minority of his daughter Christina revived the old claims of Poland to the Swedish throne, and King Ladislas, Sigismund's son, did not lose an opportunity to gather adherents in Sweden. To forestall him, the regents immediately proclaimed the six-year-old queen in Stockholm as the sovereign, and arranged for the administration by guardians. All Swedish officials were requested to swear allegiance to the new princess; all correspondence with Poland was suspended, and the edicts of the previous kings against the heirs of Sigismund were perpetuated by a solemn act. Cautiously the friendship with the czar of Moscow was renewed in order to hold hostile Poland in check by the military forces of Russia. The death of Gustavus Adolphus banished the jealousy of Denmark, and also the apprehensions which had prevented a perfect harmony of these two neighbors. The endeavors of the enemies to arm Christian IV against the Swedish kingdom no longer fell on fertile ground, and the desire to

marry his son Ulrich to the young queen, together with the precepts of a more rational statesmanship, were sufficient to keep him neutral. At the same time France, Holland and England met the Swedish council with the most cordial assurances of their continued friendship and support, and unanimously encouraged them in a vigorous continuation of a war so gloriously conducted. Much cause as France had to congratulate itself upon the death of Gustavus Adolphus it felt the necessity of a lasting alliance with Sweden. Without exposing itself to the greatest risk it could not allow this power to deteriorate in Germany. A lack of strength would have compelled it to conclude a quick, disadvantageous peace with Austria, and then would be lost all the efforts which it had made to restrict the growth of the Hapsburgs, or need and despair would teach the armies in the countries of the Catholic princes how to find the means for their support, and France would become a traitor to these states which had placed themselves under its powerful protection. The fall of Gustavus Adolphus far from destroying the alliance between France and Sweden, had, on the contrary, made it more necessary for both states, and more useful especially for France. For now, when he who had held his protecting hand over Germany and secured the frontiers of this empire against French rapaciousness was gone, France could pursue its designs upon Alsatia

without interference, and sell its support to the German Protestants at a much higher price.

Strengthened by these alliances, secured within the empire and defended against possible enemies by strong border garrisons and fleets, the regents did not hesitate a moment to continue a war in which Sweden could lose little of her own, and if success should crown her arms, would win some German province either in the way of an indemnity or as a conquest. Secure in her waters, she did not venture much more, if her armies were beaten out of Germany, than if they retreated voluntarily, and the former was as honorable as the latter was disgraceful. The more determination one showed, the more confidence one inspired in the allies, the more respect among the enemies, and the more advantageous terms were to be expected on the conclusion of peace. If Sweden was too weak to carry out the far reaching schemes of Gustavus Adolphus she owed it to his exalted example to strive to the utmost to do so and to give way only to necessity. It is a pity that the mainspring of selfishness played too prominent a part in this laudable decision to permit us to admire it without restraint. For those who had no need to suffer through the miseries of the war; even those who had enriched themselves through it, found it an easy matter to vote for the continuation,—since after all it was only the German empire which was paying for the war, and the prov-

inces upon which they were reckoning were acquired cheaply enough by the few troops employed thereafter; while the generals whom they placed at the head of the armies, were made up chiefly of Germans, who had the honor of controlling the conduct of the campaigns and the ultimate peace negotiations.

However, this control was neither compatible with the remoteness of the Swedish regency from the actual scene, nor with the slowness which is necessitated by a committee administration. The power to guard the interests of the Swedish kingdom in Germany, to decide on war and peace, on the necessary alliances, and on the land acquisitions, had to be conferred upon a single head. This important magistrate had to be invested with dictatorial authority, and with the whole prestige of the crown which he represented, in order to maintain the dignity of the latter, to bring the common operations into one harmonious whole, to lay the necessary stress upon his measures, and thus replace in every respect the monarch whom he succeeded. Such a man was the chancellor Oxenstierna, the prime minister and, what was more, the friend of the dead king, who, familiar with all the secrets of his master, acquainted with German affairs, and well versed in European diplomacy, was beyond dispute the most capable instrument to pursue the plans of Gustavus Adolphus to their fullest extent.

Oxenstierna had just started on a journey to Upper Germany with the intention of assembling the four upper districts when the news of the king's death reached him at Hanau. This terrible blow which fell upon the tender heart of the friend momentarily robbed the statesman of his senses; all that his soul held dear had been taken from him. Sweden had lost only a king, Germany only a protector, but Oxenstierna had lost the originator of his fortune, the affinity of his soul, the creator of his ideals. Although sorely smitten by his misfortune, he was the first who rose above it out of his own strength; for he was the only one who could make up for the loss. His comprehensive survey observed all obstacles which appeared in the way of carrying out his schemes; the despondency of the princes, the intrigues of the hostile courts, the separation of the allies, the jealousy of the heads, and the aversion of the princes to submit to foreign leadership. But this deep insight into the conditions of those days, which revealed to him the whole extent of the evil, also showed him the means of conquering it.

In the first place he must raise the courage of the weaker princes, to work against the secret machinations of the enemies, to spare the jealousy of the mightier allies, to encourage the friendly powers, especially France, to an active assistance, but above all to gather the remnants of the German

union and to unite the separated forces by a close and lasting bond. The consternation into which the German Protestants were thrown by the loss of their leader could just as well induce them to form an even closer alliance with Sweden, as to precipitate peace with the emperor, and it depended only upon the attitude of the observer which of these two effects should be brought about. Everything was lost as soon as they showed discouragement; only the confidence which he himself displayed could beget a noble self-confidence in the Germans. All attempts of the Austrian court to separate the latter from the Swedish alliance had failed as soon as Oxenstierna opened their eyes concerning the real advantages to them, and induced them to create a formal breach with the emperor.

But before these steps were taken, and the necessary preliminaries between the government and its minister had been settled, precious time was lost by the indecision of the Swedish army, which was exploited by the enemies to the utmost. At that time it was in the hands of the emperor to destroy the Swedish power in Germany if the wise counsel of the duke of Friedland had been followed by him. Wallenstein advised him to proclaim a general amnesty and to meet the Protestant princes on favorable terms. In the first shock with Gustavus Adolphus's fall caused the entire party, such a declaration would have had a decisive effect, and won

the more pliable princes to the emperor. Dazzled, however, by the unexpected fortune and deluded by the suggestions of the Spaniards, Ferdinand expected a better result through force of arms, and instead of listening to the mediation proposals, he hastened to increase his power. Spain, enriched by the tithe of the ecclesiastical estates, which the pope had granted her, supported him with considerable financial advances, negotiated for him at the Saxon court, and hurriedly gathered troops in Italy which were to be used in Germany. The elector of Bavaria, too, greatly reënforced his armies, and the restless mind of the duke of Lorraine did not permit him to remain inactive at such a fortunate turn of fate. Nor, while the enemy was busy planning the disaster of the Swedes, did Oxenstierna neglect anything to frustrate the emperor's machinations.

Less afraid of the open enemy than of the jealousy of friendly powers he left Upper Germany, of which he had assured himself through conquests and alliances, and made his way to Lower Germany in order to induce the princes to refrain from a complete revolt or from a private union among themselves which would not be much less to the disadvantage of Sweden. Offended by the arrogance with which the chancellor took the conduct of affairs in his hands, and indignant at the thought of being dictated to by a mere Swedish nobleman, the elector

of Saxony again began working for a dangerous separation from Sweden, and the only question was whether he should reconcile himself completely with the emperor or raise himself as leader of the Protestants and establish with them a third party in Germany. Similar sentiments were held by Duke Ulrich of Brunswick, and he manifested them clearly enough by prohibiting the Swedes from recruiting in his territories and inviting the Lower Saxon princes to Lüneburg with a view of arranging a confederation among them. Only the elector of Brandenburg, envious of the influence which electoral Saxony seemed to gain in Lower Germany, showed some zeal for the interest of the Swedish crown, which he already imagined he saw on the head of his son. Although Oxenstierna was received with the utmost respect at the court of Johann Georg, fickle assurances of continued friendship were all he could get from this prince, notwithstanding a personal intervention in his behalf on the part of the elector of Brandenburg. He was more fortunate with the duke of Brunswick, toward whom he employed bolder language. Sweden had possession in those days of the territory of Magdeburg, whose bishop had the authority to assemble the Lower Saxon district. The chancellor maintained the rights of his crown, and through this determination prevented the risk of such an assembly. However, he failed to bring about the general Protestant confederation,

which was the chief purpose of his present journey and of all future endeavors, and had to content himself with a few doubtful alliances in the Saxon districts and the weak help of Upper Germany.

As the Bavarians were too strong on the Danube, Oxenstierna transferred the assembly of the four upper districts which had to convene in Ulm to Heilbronn, where over twelve imperial cities and an illustrious assemblage of counts and princes attended. The foreign powers,—France, Holland and England,—also sent delegates to this convention, and Oxenstierna appeared in it with all the regalia of the crown which he was to represent. He was the spokesman and the debate was conducted over his propositions. After he had received from all assembled princes the assurance of an unshakable friendship, persistency and harmony, he demanded from them that they should solemnly declare the emperor and the league as enemies. But much as the Swedes would have liked to widen the strained relations between the emperor and the princes to an open breach, they had little inclination to forego all possibility of a reconciliation through such a decisive step, and to place thereby their whole fate in the hands of the Swedes. They found that formal declaration of war, since the action spoke for itself, would be useless and superfluous, and their steadfast resistance silenced the chancellor. The third and most important point

of the deliberations caused a more spirited battle, as through this the means were to be fixed with which to continue the war, and furthermore the size of the contributions of the various princes to the support of the armies. Oxenstierna's policy to impose as much as possible upon the princes was not compatible with their principles to give as little as possible.

It was here that the chancellor experienced what thirty emperors had discovered before him; namely, that of all precarious undertakings the most precarious was to raise money from the Germans. Instead of granting him the necessary sums for the armies which were to be newly formed, they started to enumerate eloquently the miseries which the old armies had caused, and demanded a relaxation of the former burdens while being asked to bear fresh ones. The ugly mood of the princes which had been caused by the financial demands of the chancellor, bore in its train a thousand different complaints, and the excesses of the troops on their marches and in their quarters were described with horrible realism.

Oxenstierna had had little opportunity in the service of two princes of autocratic power to accustom himself to the formalities and circumspection in republican debates, and to practice patience at opposition. Ready to act as soon as the necessity appeared obvious to him, and vigorous in his de-

termination as soon as it had once been made, he could not understand the inconsistency of most people to covet the end and yet to hate the means. Resolute and impetuous by nature, he was upholding this attitude on this occasion as a matter of principle, for everything now depended upon concealing the weakness of the Swedish kingdom by a language of firmness and confidence and really to become master of the situation through an assumed peremptory tone. No wonder if, with such sentiments among German nobles and princes, he was altogether out of his sphere and brought almost to despair by the fuss and formality that are typical of the German character in all public debates. Without consideration for a custom to which even the most powerful emperors had to submit he rejected the proposition to put all deliberations in writing which contributed so much to the German idea of red tape; he could not understand how one could discuss a single point for ten days which so far as he was concerned was settled by the mere proposal of the same. However harshly he was treating the princes, he found them ready and willing to grant a fourth motion that concerned his own person. When he was speaking about the necessity of appointing a leader for the newly established union, this honor was unanimously conferred upon Sweden, and he was humbly requested to serve the common cause with his experience and knowl-

edge, and to take the burden of leadership upon his own shoulders.

But in order to protect themselves against a misuse of the great authority which they gave him with this appointment, they attached to it, not without French influence, a certain number of supervisors under the name of assistants who were to take charge of the treasury of the Union, and were also to be consulted in regard to enlistment, marching through and billeting of troops. Oxenstierna violently opposed this restriction of his power which made very difficult the carrying out of every plan requiring quickness and secrecy. He succeeded, after a great effort, in being authorized to follow his own suggestions in all matters concerning the war. Finally, the chancellor touched upon the crucial point of an indemnity which Sweden would have to expect from the gratitude of her allies after the war was finished, and he flattered himself with the hope of getting Pomerania, which was one of the chief aims of Sweden, and the assurance of the princes that they would support the acquisition of this province. This very delicate subject was covered by a general and vague assurance that at the future peace conclusion the allies would mutually support each other. That it was not the respect for the constitution of the empire which made the princes so cautious about this point was borne out by the liberality

which they were anxious to show the chancellor at the expense of the empire. It wanted little that they did not offer him outright the Arch Chapter of Mainz as a reward, which was already in his possession as a conquest, and it was only with a great effort that the French delegate prevented this unpolitical and dishonorable step. However, the actual fulfillment remained far behind the wishes and expectations of Oxenstierna, who had attained for himself and his crown the most important purpose,—the management of the war. Furthermore he had strengthened the bond between the princes of the four upper districts, and achieved a grant of a million and a half German thalers as an annual contribution to the support of the war forces.

So much yielding on the part of the princes deserved a proper recognition from Sweden. A few weeks after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, grief ended the deplorable career of Count Frederick V, after this unfortunate prince had spent eight months in the retinue of the king of Sweden, together with all his remaining fortune. At last he seemed about to realize his ardent wishes when death took away his protector. What he regarded as the greatest misfortune had the most favorable consequences for his heir. Gustavus Adolphus could take the liberty of hesitating with the restoration of his countries and to encumber his donation with oppressive terms; Oxenstierna, however, to whom the friend-

ship of England, Holland and Brandenburg, as well as the good opinion of the Protestant princes on the whole, was far more important, had to fulfill the duty of justice. Therefore, in this assembly at Heilbronn he delivered the Palatinate territories, conquered and unconquered, into the hands of Frederick's heir with the exception of Mannheim, which was to be held by the Swedes until all expenses had been refunded. The chancellor did not confine his favors to the Palatinate dynasty alone; the other allied princes also received, later on, proof of Sweden's gratitude—which cost this crown just a little of its own.

The duty of impartiality, the most sacred of the historian, compels him to an admission which does not do much honor to the champions of German liberty. However much the Protestant princes may have thought of the justice of their cause and of the purity of their zeal, yet the motives upon which they acted were mostly very selfish, and the desire to rob had at least as much part in the hostilities as the fear of being robbed. Gustavus Adolphus discovered that he could expect far more from these impure motives than from their patriotic sentiments, and he did not hesitate to use them. Each one of the princes allied with him received the assurance of some possession which either had already been taken from the enemy, or was yet to be conquered from him, and only death prevented him from com-

plying with this promise. What prudence had advised the king, necessity demanded from his successor, and if it was important to the latter to continue the war, he had to divide the spoils with the allied princes and promise them advantages through the warfare which he was seeking to continue. Thus he conferred upon the landgrave of Hesse the Chapters Paderborn, Corvey, Münster and Fulda; upon Duke Bernhard of Weimar the Franconian bishoprics, and upon the duke of Württemberg the ecclesiastical estates and Austrian dominions situated in his country, and all these under the name of Swedish tenures. The chancellor himself was surprised at this repugnant spectacle which was doing little honor to the Germans, and he was hardly able to conceal his contempt. "It should be recorded in our archives," he said on one occasion, "that a German sovereign prince demanded such a thing of a Swedish nobleman, and that the Swedish nobleman gave such a thing to the German sovereign prince on German soil."

After such exhaustive preparations one could appear with honors in the field and with alacrity renew the war. Soon after the victory at Lützen the Saxon and Lüneburg troops joined the Swedish main army and the imperialists were driven from the whole of Saxony within a short time. Presently this united force separated. The Saxons marched into the Lausitz and Silesia with an idea of operating

against the Austrians in union with the Count of Thurn; one part of the Swedish army was led to Franconia under the command of Duke Bernhard of Weimar, and the other to Westphalia and Lower Saxony under Duke Georg of Brunswick.

The conquests on the river Lech and on the Danube had been defended by the count of Birkenfeld and the Swedish general, Banner, against the Bavarians, while Gustavus Adolphus pressed his campaign in Saxony. But, too weak to offer a lasting resistance against the progresses of the Bavarians, who were supported by the experience and bravery of General von Altringer, they had to ask for the assistance of the Swedish general von Horn from Alsatia. After this experienced field marshal had conquered the towns of Benfeld, Schlettstadt, Colmar and Hagenau, he intrusted Rhinegrave Otto Ludwig with the defense of the same and hurried across the Rhine in order to reënforce the army of Banner. But although the latter was 16,000 strong it could not prevent the enemy from gaining a firm foothold on the Suabian frontier, conquering Kempten, and uniting with seven regiments from Bohemia. Intending to hold the important banks of the Lech and Danube, Oxenstierna drew troops from Alsatia where Rhinegrave Otto Ludwig, after the departure of von Horn, had great trouble in defending himself against the revolting peasants. He also had to reënforce the

army on the Danube with his troops, and as this succor was not sufficient he urgently requested Duke Bernhard of Weimar to send his forces to that territory.

Soon after the opening of the campaign in 1633, Bernhard had taken possession of the town and the whole of the district of Bamberg, and reserved a similar fate for Würzburg. Requested by Gustavus Horn he marched toward the Danube without delay, defeated a Bavarian army under Johann von Werth, and united with the Swedes at Donauwörth. This numerous army, commanded by the most eminent generals, now threatened Bavaria with invasion. The entire bishopric of Eichstädt was flooded with troops, and a traitor offered to deliver Ingolstadt into the hands of the Swedes. Altringer's activity was stayed by the express order of the duke of Friedland, and, left without help from Bohemia, he was unable to resist the pressure of the army of the enemy. The most favorable circumstances combined to make the arms of the Swedes victorious in these districts, when suddenly the activity of the army was paralyzed by a mutiny of the officers.

One had to thank the armies for all that had been acquired in Germany; Gustavus Adolphus's greatness was their work, the fruit of their discipline, of their bravery, of their persevering courage in continuous danger and hardships. However artfully campaign plans were designed in the cabinet, in the

end of the army alone was the executor, and the continually extended schemes of the leaders were always increasing their burden. All great decisions in this war had been forced by sacrificing the soldiers in winter campaigns, strenuous marches, storm attacks and battles, and it was Gustavus Adolphus's maxim never to despair of the possibility of a victory so long as it did not cost him any more than men alone. To the soldier himself his own importance could not remain concealed for very long, and he had a right to demand a share of conquests which had been made with his blood. But often one could hardly pay him his due wages, and the greediness of the leaders or the requirements of the state usually absorbed the greatest part of the extorted sums as well as the confiscated property. After all his labor nothing remained for him but the doubtful prospect of robbery or promotion, and only too often he saw himself cheated of both. Fear and hope suppressed every forcible outbreak of discontent so long as Gustavus Adolphus lived. But after his death universal dissatisfaction was rife and the soldier seized the most dangerous moment to remind the leaders of his importance. Two officers, Pfuhl and Mitschefal, long notorious as seditious elements in Gustavus Adolphus's time, set the example in the Danube camp which in a few days was emulated by almost every officer in the army. All agreed by word and clasp of hand

not to obey any further commands until the wages which had been due for months and years were paid, and besides that each of them was given adequate reward in money or real estate. "Enormous sums," one heard them say, "were extorted daily and all this money dwindled away in a few hands. Out into ice and snow they were driven, and never any thanks did they get for their hard work. At Heilbronn they were clamoring about the mischief of the soldiers, but nobody mentioned their merits. The learned men were writing to the world about conquests and victories, and everyone of them had been accomplished with their hands."

The number of the malcontents increased daily, and, through letters which were fortunately intercepted, they also attempted to sow revolt among the armies on the Rhine and in Saxony. Neither the remonstrances of Bernhard of Weimar, nor the sharp tongue of his more austere assistant, could suppress this fermenting trouble; on the contrary, the violence of the latter only increased the defiance of the rebels. They insisted that to every regiment should be assigned certain towns upon which to levy for their wages in arrears. The chancellor was given a respite of four weeks to fulfill these demands and, in case of a refusal, they declared they would make themselves paid, and never draw the sword again for Sweden.

The alarming demand, made at a time when the

war treasure was exhausted and credit low, could not fail to cause the chancellor the greatest embarrassment, and a quick remedy had to be found before the epidemic of trouble could seize the remainder of the troops, and the Union be forsaken by all its armies, in the midst of enemies. Among all the Swedish army leaders there was only one who enjoyed sufficient prestige and respect with the soldiers to settle this quarrel. Duke Bernhard was the favorite of the soldiers; his prudent moderation had won him the confidence of his men and his war experience commanded their highest admiration. He took it upon himself to pacify the dissatisfied troops, but conscious of his own individual importance, he seized the favorable moment to care first for himself and to force from the embarrassment of the Swedish chancellor the fulfillment of his own desires.

Gustavus Adolphus had flattered him with a duchy of Franconia, which was to be established out of a combination of the two districts of Bamberg and Würzburg; now Duke Bernhard was pressing for the fulfillment of this promise. At the same time he asked for the supreme command in the war as Swedish generalissimo. This abuse of his indispensability of which the duke made himself guilty exasperated Oxenstierna so much that in the first heat of fury he gave him notice to quit the Swedish service. Soon, however, he thought

better of it, and before he would sacrifice such an important commander, he determined to attach him to the Swedish interest at any cost whatever. So he gave him the Franconian bishoprics as tenures of the Swedish crown, reserving however the fortresses of Würzburg and Königshofen which were to remain occupied by the Swedes. At the same time he pledged himself in the name of his crown to protect the duke in the possession of these countries. The desired supreme command over the entire Swedish power was refused under a plausible pretext. Duke Bernhard did not wait long to show his gratitude for this important sacrifice. Through his prestige and his activity he quelled the riot in the army within a short time. Large sums of cash money were doled out among the officers, and yet more in land possessions, the value of which aggregated about five million German thalers, to which they had no other right than that of conquest. Meanwhile the propitious moment for a great enterprise had passed, and the united leaders separated to fight the enemy in other districts.

After Gustavus Horn had attempted a short invasion into the Upper Palatinate and conquered Neumarkt, he directed his march to the Suabian frontier where the imperialists had in the meantime considerably reënforced themselves and threatened Württemberg with a devastating incursion. Frightened by his approach, they retreated to Lake Con-

stance, but only to show the Swedes the way to these untouched environments. A possession on the Swiss frontier was of the greatest importance for them and the town of Kostnitz seemed to be especially suitable to give them a connection with the Swiss confederates. Gustavus Horn at once undertook the siege of the same; stripped however of guns, which had to be brought first from Württemberg, he was not able to push his enterprise rapidly enough to prevent the enemy from relieving the town, which could be easily supplied from the lake. After a vain attempt he left, to avert a more serious danger on the banks of the Danube.

By order of the emperor, the "Cardinal Infant," brother of Philip IV of Spain and governor in Milan, had equipped an army of 14,000 men who were destined to operate on the Rhine and to defend Alsatia, independent of Wallenstein's command. This army appeared in Bavaria under the leadership of the duke of Feria, a Spaniard, and in order to use it against the Swedes. Altringer was ordered to send his troops immediately to join them.

At the first news of their arrival Gustavus Horn called the count-palatine of Birkenfeld from the Rhine to reënforce him, and after he had joined him at Stockach, he boldly advanced against the enemy who were 30,000 strong. The latter had made his way across the Danube to Suabia, where Gustavus Horn was able to overtake him, and the two armies

were separated only by a space of half a mile. Instead of engaging in the proffered battle the imperialists retreated to the Breisgau and Alsatia where they arrived just in time to relieve Breisach and to set a limit to the victorious progress of the Rhinegrave Otto Ludwig. Previous to this the latter had conquered the forest towns, and, supported by the count-palatine of Birkenfeld, who liberated Lower Palatinate and defeated the duke of Lorraine, had given the Swedish arms again the preponderance in these districts. Now, however, he had to give way to the superiority of the enemy, but soon Horn and Birkenfeld advanced to his assistance and the imperialists, after a fleeting triumph, saw themselves ousted once more from Alsatia. The raw autumn season which caught them on this unfortunate retreat proved to be the undoing of the majority of the Italians, and the grief over the failure of this enterprise killed their leader, the duke of Feria.

Meanwhile Duke Bernhard of Weimar had taken up his position on the Danube with eighteen regiments of foot soldiers and a hundred and fourteen troops of cavalry, called "cornets," with a view of covering Franconia and watching the movements of the Bavarian-imperial army near this river. No sooner had Altringer left these frontiers in order to unite with the Italian troops of the duke of Feria, than Bernhard used his departure to hurry

across the Danube. With the utmost speed he appeared before Regensburg. The possession of this town was decisive for the operations of the Swedes in Bavaria and Austria; it gave them a firm footing on the Danube and a safe retreat in case of disaster; it also enabled them to make lasting conquests in those countries. To preserve Regensburg was the last bit of advice given by the dying Tilly to the elector of Bavaria, and Gustavus Adolphus lamented as an irreparable loss that the Bavarians had forestalled him in the occupation of this place.

Distracting was Maximilian's fright when Duke Bernhard took the town by surprise and seriously prepared for a siege. Its garrison did not consist of more than 15 companies, mostly newly enlisted troops—a force more than sufficient to tire out a greatly superior enemy so long as they were supported by well-meaning and bold citizens. But the latter were the most dangerous enemies with whom the Bavarian garrison had to fight. The Protestant inhabitants of Regensburg, equally jealous of their creed and of their charter, had submitted to the Bavarian yoke under vigorous protest, and for a long time had been looking forward with impatience to the arrival of a rescuer. Bernhard's appearance outside their walls filled them with great joy and it was reasonable that they would support the undertakings of the besieging army by an internal revolt. In his great embarrassment the

elector implored the emperor and the duke of Friedland to help him with only 5,000 men. Ferdinand sent seven couriers in succession with this order to Wallenstein, who promised speedy help and actually announced to the elector the imminent arrival of 12,000 men through Gallas; but he forbade this general to deliver the message under penalty of death! In the meantime the Bavarian commandant of the fortress of Regensburg had, in the expectation that relief was close at hand, made the best possible preparations for a defense, training the Catholic peasants to bear arms, but disarming the Protestant citizens and placing them under careful supervision lest they should undertake hostile steps against the garrison. However, when no relief arrived and the enemy's guns were bombarding the fortifications with uninterrupted violence, he saved himself and the garrison by an honorable capitulation, and left the Bavarian officials and the clergy to the mercy of the victor.

With the possession of Regensburg the schemes of Duke Bernhard of Weimar expanded and even Bavaria became too limited a sphere for his bold courage. His intention was to penetrate to the frontiers of Austria, arm the Protestant country people against the emperor and restore their religious freedom to them. He had already conquered Straubing, while another Swedish general brought the northern banks of the Danube under his

submission. Defying the roughness of the climate at the head of his Swedes, he reached the mouth of the river Isar, and crossed with his troops in the face of the Bavarian general von Werth who had there erected his camp. Passau and Linz trembled and the astonished emperor redoubled his urgent exhortations and orders to Wallenstein to hurry to the assistance of the hard-pressed Bavarian country. Here, however, the victorious Bernhard set a voluntary limit to his own conquests. In front of him the river Inn, which was protected by several fortified castles; behind him, two hostile armies, a malevolently inclined people and the Isar where no stronghold protected his rear and the frozen ground did not permit any intrenchments; Threatened by the entire force of Wallenstein, who had at last resolved to advance toward the Danube, he began a timely retreat and thereby escaped the risk of being cut off from Regensburg and surrounded by the enemy. He was hurrying across the Isar and Danube to defend the conquests made in the Upper Palatinate against Wallenstein, and would not even refuse a battle to this field marshal. However Wallenstein, into whose mind it had never entered to perform great deeds on the Danube, did not wait for his approach, and before the Bavarians realized that he was about to reënforce him, he vanished again into Bohemia. Bernhard ended his glorious campaign and gave

his troops well-deserved rest in their winter quarters in the enemy's country.

While Gustavus Horn in Suabia, the count-palatine of Birkenfeld, General Baudissin and Rhinegrave Otto Ludwig on the upper and lower Rhine, and Duke Bernhard on the Danube, were conducting the war with such vigor, the fame of the Swedish arms was no less superbly upheld in Lower Saxony and Westphalia by the duke of Lüneburg and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. Duke Georg conquered the fortress of Hameln after a brave resistance and the imperial general von Gronsfeld, who was commanding on the Weser, was decisively beaten by the united armies of the Swedes and Hessians at Oldendorf. Sixteen cannons, the entire baggage of the imperialists and 74 banners fell into Swedish hands; about 3,000 of the enemy had fallen on the battlefield and almost as many were made prisoners. The town of Osna-brück was forced to surrender by the Swedish colonel Knyphausen, and Paderborn by the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; but Bückeburg, a very important place to the Swedes, fell to the imperialists. Everywhere in Germany the Swedish arms were victorious and the year following the death of Gustavus Adolphus did not show a trace of the loss which they should have suffered in this great leader.

In the tale of the important events which distinguished the campaign of the year 1633 the

inactivity of a man who had roused by far the greatest hopes, must have caused well-founded surprise. Among all the generals whose deeds have been related in this campaign, there was none who could compare himself with Wallenstein as regards experience, talent and military fame, yet this very man was lost sight of since the battle of Lützen. The death of his great adversary left him in the unrestricted possession of the theater of fame and glory; the whole attention of Europe was centered upon the deeds which were to blot out the memory of his defeat and proclaim to the world his superiority in the science of war. Yet he remained idle in Bohemia while the losses of the emperor in Bavaria, in Lower Saxony and on the Rhine urgently demanded his presence; an equally impenetrable mystery to friend and foe, the terror and at the same time the last hope of the emperor. With an inexplicable haste, after the lost battle of Lützen, he retreated to the kingdom of Bohemia where he was setting afoot the most rigorous investigations into the conduct of his officers in that battle. Those whom a court-martial found guilty were sentenced to death with inexorable severity, while all those who had distinguished themselves were rewarded with royal munificence and the memory of the dead was perpetuated by glorious monuments. All through the winter he had oppressed the imperial provinces by exorbitant

war contributions and by the winter quarters which he purposely refrained from establishing on hostile territory in order to drain the resources of the Austrian countries. But instead of opening the campaign in the spring of 1633 with his well fed and picked troops superior to the others, and of showing himself in the full glory of his genius as a field marshal, he was the last to appear on the scene, and even then, it was an imperial dominion which he made the seat of war.

Among all the Austrian provinces Silesia was exposed to the greatest dangers. Three different armies, a Swedish under the count of Thurn, a Saxon under both Arnheim and the duke of Lauenburg, and a Brandenburg force under Borgsdorf, had simultaneously waged war against this country. They had the more important places already in their possession and even Breslau had fallen into the hands of the allies. However, the very number of generals and armies saved this country to the emperor, for the jealousy among the leaders and the mutual hatred of Swedes and Saxons never permitted them to act in accord. Arnheim and Thurn were quarreling with each other about the supreme command; the Brandenburgers and the Saxons joined against the Swedes, whom they regarded as an exceedingly annoying mob of foreigners, and whom they endeavored to harm whenever this could be done conveniently. Again,

the Saxons were on far better terms with the imperialists, and it frequently happened that the officers of the two hostile armies visited one another and regaled each other with banquets. The Saxons did not prevent their allies from taking away all their belongings, and many did not make any secret even of the fact that they had drawn large sums of money from Vienna.

Amongst such friends the Swedes saw themselves sold and betrayed, and under these circumstances no great undertakings of any kind could ever be planned. General Arnheim was absent nearly all the time and when at last he joined the army again, Wallenstein was already approaching the frontier with a formidable force. He was advancing with 40,000 men and the allies could not oppose to them more than 24,000. Despite this, however, they were ready to make an attempt at battle and appeared at Münsterberg, where he had erected a fortified camp. But Wallenstein let them stand here for eight days without making the slightest move. Presently he left his intrenchments and marched past their camp with calm and proud serenity. Even after he had broken up his camp, and the enemies, now grown bolder, were steadily remaining by his side, he let the opportunity pass. The care with which he avoided a battle was interpreted by many as fear; however, Wallenstein could afford to take a chance with his reputation as a field marshal.

The vanity of the allies blinded them to the fact that he was making fun of them and generously refraining from a defeat because a victory over them did not suit his purpose at that time. However, to show them that he was still the master, and that it was not fear of their power which kept him inactive, he had the commandant of a castle, which fell into his hands, struck down for not immediately surrendering an untenable place.

For nine days the two armies stood opposite each other and within musket range, when Count Terzky from Wallenstein's side appeared with a trumpeter in front of the allied camp to invite General von Arnheim to a conference. The purport of it was that Wallenstein, who was undisputedly superior in strength, proposed an armistice of six weeks.

"I have come," he impressively said, "to conclude an everlasting peace with Sweden and the sovereign princes, to pay the soldiers, and give satisfaction to everybody. All of this is in my power, and in case they should take exception to that in Vienna, I will unite with the allies, and" (this he only whispered into Arnheim's ear) "let the emperor go to the devil."

During a second conference he explained his plans with even more directness to the count of Thurn.

All privileges, he declared, were to be restored again, all Bohemian exiles recalled and reinstated

in their former possessions, and he himself would be the first to give up his share of them. The Jesuits as the originators of all the former oppressions, were to be driven out of the country; with the crown of Sweden a settlement was to be made to pay an indemnity in certain fixed installments, and all superfluous troops of both parties should be led against the Turks.

The next and last item contained the solution of the whole puzzle: If he should gain the Bohemian crown, all exiles should have reason to praise his generosity, a perfect religious peace was to reign in the kingdom, the Palatinate dynasty was to be restored in all its former rights, and Moravia serve him as a compensation for Mecklenburg. Then the allied armies were to march upon Vienna under his leadership and with armed force compel the emperor's sanction of this treaty.

The mask now had fallen and the plan over which he had been brooding for years in his mysterious seclusion was revealed. All the circumstances made it evident that no time was to be lost in the carrying out of these schemes. Only a blind confidence in the war fortune and the superior genius of the duke of Friedland had inspired the emperor with the firmness to confer such an unrestricted command upon this masterful man, contrary to all representations of Bavaria and Spain and at the expense of his own prestige. However, this belief

in the invincibility of Wallenstein had long been shaken by his protracted inactivity, and almost vanished after the disastrous battle of Lützen. His opponents at Ferdinand's court were roused again and the discontent of the emperor over his forlorn hopes lent a willing ear to their representations. The whole conduct of the duke was reviewed by them with caustic criticism, his haughty defiance and his insubordination against the orders of the emperor were recalled to the memory of this jealous prince; the complaints of the Austrian subjects about his boundless oppressions came to their aid; his loyalty was suspected, and an intimidating hint dropped as to his secret intentions. These accusations, only too well justified by the whole demeanor of the duke, did not fail to take deep root in Ferdinand's mind; and yet the step had been taken and the powerful authority with which he had invested the duke could not be taken from him without great risk. To diminish it gradually was all that was left for the emperor to do, and to accomplish this with some measure of success he must seek to divide it, but above all to make himself independent of Wallenstein's will. But he had renounced even this right in the agreement which had been made with him, and against every attempt to attach to him another general or to get a direct influence over his troops, he was protected by the signature of the emperor. As the emperor could neither keep

nor destroy this fatal agreement he had to resort to a trick. Wallenstein was imperial generalissimo in Germany, but his domain did not extend beyond that and he could not arrogate to himself an authority over a foreign army. Hence he began to enlist a Spanish force in Milan, to fight in Germany under a Spanish general. Thus Wallenstein was no longer indispensable since he had ceased to be the only leader and if the worst came to the worst, there was a support even against him.

The duke felt at once whence this blow came and at whom it was aimed. In vain he protested to the cardinal-infante against this innovation contrary to the agreement; the Italian army arrived and the emperor compelled him to send General Altringer to reënforce it. Yet he knew how to tie the hands of the latter by stern rules of conduct so that the Italian army earned only scant honors in Alsatia and Suabia. However, this arbitrary step of the court had roused Wallenstein out of his security and given him a warning hint of the approaching danger. If he did not wish to lose his command and with it the fruits of all his endeavors a second time, he had to hurry with the execution of his plot. By removing all suspicious officers and by his munificence toward the others he assured himself of the loyalty of his troops. All other princes of the state, all duties of justice and humanity, he had sacrificed to the welfare of the army and

therefore reckoned upon their recognition. On the verge of establishing an example of ingratitude against the creator of his fortune, such as no one had ever heard of before, he built his whole welfare upon the gratitude which the soldiers were to show him.

The leaders of the Silesian armies had not received the authority from their princes to conclude such an all-important matter as Wallenstein had proposed and they did not venture to grant even the armistice for a longer period than 14 days. Before the duke laid himself open to the Saxons and Swedes he had thought it advisable to assure himself of French protection in his bold undertaking. To this end secret negotiations, conducted with the utmost caution, were carried on by Count von Kinsky with the French plenipotentiary Feuquières in Dresden which resulted quite in accordance with Wallenstein's wish. Feuquières received the order from his court to promise all assistance on the part of France and to offer the duke, in case he should be in need of it, a considerable financial support.

This super caution to protect himself on all sides, proved the traitor's undoing. The French plenipotentiary discovered to his utter amazement that a plot which required secrecy more than any other had been communicated to the Swedes and to the Saxons. The Saxon ministry, as everybody was well aware, was inclined toward the interest of

the emperor, and the terms offered to the Swedes did not by any means come up to their expectations and failed of their approval. Thus it was incomprehensible to Feuquières how the duke could reckon in full earnest upon the support of the former and the secrecy of the latter. He confided his anxieties and doubts to the Swedish chancellor, who felt an equally great distrust in the intentions of Wallenstein, whose proposals were even far less to his taste. Although it was no secret to him that the duke had already previously carried on similar negotiations with Gustavus Adolphus he could not see how he would be able to induce the entire army to revolt and fulfill his extravagant promises.

Such a monstrous plan and so ridiculous a procedure did not seem to be compatible with the taciturn and distrustful nature of the duke, and all were inclined to treat everything as a pretense and a fraud, for people would sooner doubt his integrity than his prudence. Oxenstierna's misgivings finally convinced even Arnheim, who, with full confidence in Wallenstein's sincerity, had journeyed to the chancellor in Gelnhausen, to induce him to place his best troops at the disposal of the duke.

He began to think that the whole plot was only an artful snare to disarm the allies and place the best part of their military power into the hands of the emperor. Wallenstein's well-known character did not gainsay this suspicion, and the contradictions

into which he involved himself afterward had the effect that at last nobody could understand him. While he was seeking to draw the Swedes into an alliance with him and even demanded their best troops from them, he declared to Arnheim that it was time to drive the Swedes out of the empire, and while the Saxon officers, trusting to the security of an armistice, were assembled around him in great numbers, he made an unsuccessful attempt to seize them. He was the first to break the truce which a few months afterward he renewed with a great effort. All belief in his veracity had vanished, and finally people expected to see in his whole conduct nothing but a tissue of lies and low tricks with a view to weaken the allies and to exalt himself.

This he achieved, inasmuch as his power was each day increasing, whereas the allies lost over half of their troops through desertions and bad support. But he did not make such use of his superiority as Vienna expected. Whenever one was looking forward to a decisive event, he suddenly renewed the negotiations, and if the armistice lulled the allies in safety, he suddenly roused himself to renew hostilities. All these contradictions were the result of the double and totally incompatible scheme to beat both the Swedes and the emperor, and to conclude a separate peace with Saxony.

CHAPTER XI

WALLENSTEIN'S DEATH

IMPATIENT over the slow progress of his negotiations, Wallenstein resolved upon a display of his power, for the growing distress in the empire and the increasing dissatisfaction at the imperial court did not permit any further delay. Shortly before the last armistice General von Holk, starting from Bohemia, had invaded the Meissen district, destroying with fire and sword everything which came in his way; he had driven the elector into his fortresses and even conquered Leipzig. However, the armistice in Silesia was an effective barrier against his devastations, and the consequences of his dissipations sent him to his grave in Adorf. After the truce had been suspended Wallenstein again made a move as if he were about to invade Saxony through the Lausitz, and had a rumor spread to the effect that Count Piccolomini was already on his way thither.

Arnheim at once quit his camp in Silesia to follow him and to hurry to the assistance of the electorate. Through this, however, the Swedes,

who were camping in very small numbers near Steinau on the Oder under the command of Count Thurn, were exposed, and this was exactly what the duke wished. He let the Saxon general advance a distance of some sixteen miles into the Meissen territory, and then suddenly turned back toward the Oder, where he took the Swedish army by surprise while they reposed in fancied security.

The cavalry were badly defeated by General Schafgotsch, who had been sent in advance, and the infantry were completely surrounded by the army of the duke, near Steinau. Wallenstein gave Count Thurn half an hour's time to consider whether to defend himself with 1500 men against more than 20,000 or surrender at discretion. There was no choice under the circumstances. The entire army delivered themselves into the hands of Wallenstein as prisoners, and a most complete victory had been won without shedding a single drop of blood. Banners, guns and baggage fell into the hands of the victor.

After fourteen years of wandering about, and numerous vicissitudes, the instigator of the Bohemian revolution, the indirect originator of this whole terrible war, the notorious count of Thurn, was in the hands of the enemy. With sanguinary impatience they were awaiting in Vienna the arrival of this arrant criminal, and anticipated the triumph of slaughtering the eminent victim as a sacrifice

to justice. But to disappoint the Jesuits was a much sweeter triumph, and Thurn was given his freedom. It was his good fortune that he knew more than one could dare to bring to the knowledge of Vienna, and that Wallenstein's enemies were also his. One would have forgiven the duke a defeat in Vienna, but never this disappointed hope. "But what else should I have done with this madman?" he wrote with malicious sarcasm to the ministers who remonstrated with him for his inopportune generosity. "Would to Heaven the enemies had all such generals as this one. At the head of the Swedish armies he can do us a far greater service than in jail!"

The victory at Steinau was followed shortly by the occupation of Liegnitz, Gross-Glogau, and even of Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Schafgotsch, who remained in Silesia in order to finish the subjugation of that province, was blockading Brieg and assaulted Breslau in vain as this free city was watching over its privileges and was loyal to the Swedes. Colonels Illo and Goetz were sent to the river Warthe to penetrate through Pomerania to the Baltic shore, and Lundsberg, the key to Pomerania, was actually taken by them. While the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Pomerania were trembling for their countries, Wallenstein broke into the Lausitz with the rest of his army, where he conquered Görlitz by storm and forced Bautzen to

surrender. But his intention was only to frighten the elector of Saxony, not to pursue the advantages gained; sword in hand, he also continued his peace proposals to Brandenburg and Saxony, although with no better success, as he had forfeited all trust by his chain of contradictions. Now he would have turned his whole power against unfortunate Saxony and finally have reached his purpose by the force of arms if circumstances had not really compelled him to leave this district. The victories of Duke Bernhard on the Danube which threatened Austria with imminent danger urgently demanded his presence in Bavaria, and the expulsion of the Saxons and Swedes from Silesia deprived him of every pretext to resist the imperial orders any longer and to leave the elector of Bavaria without assistance. So he turned with his main army to Upper Palatinate and his departure liberated Upper Saxony from this formidable enemy forever.

He had postponed the rescue of Bavaria as long as possible and scorned the orders of the emperor by the most elaborate subterfuges. Only after repeated requests did he send to Count von Altringer, who strove to hold the Lech and Danube against Horn and Bernhard, several regiments from Bohemia to help him, but under the express condition always to remain on the defensive. As often as they implored him for help he referred the emperor and elector to Altringer, who, he declared,

had received unrestricted authority from him; secretly, however, he tied his hands by explicit orders and threatened him with death if he should transgress his commands. After Duke Bernhard had advanced to Regensburg, and the emperor as well as the elector had repeated their urgent requests for help, he acted as though he was sending General Gallas to the Danube with a considerable army, but even this was merely pretense and the towns of Regensburg, Straubing and Cham fell into the hands of the Swedes in the same way as the bishopric of Eichstädt. When at last he could no longer postpone obeying the orders of the court, he advanced to the Bavarian frontier as slowly as possible, and invested Cham, which had previously been taken by the Swedes. No sooner did he hear that the latter were working toward a diversion for him in Bohemia through the Saxons than he used this rumor to return as quickly as possible to Bohemia without having accomplished the slightest result. Every other purpose, he said, had to be subservient to the defense and the preservation of the imperial patrimonial dominions, and he remained in Bohemia as if glued to the spot, and guarded this kingdom as though it already belonged to him. The emperor still more emphatically repeated his order to advance toward the Danube, with the intention of preventing the perilous occupation by the duke of Weimar along the Austrian frontiers, but he closed the cam-

paign for that season and had his troops again take up their winter quarters in the exhausted country.

Such continual defiance, such unheard of contempt of all imperial orders, such open neglect of the common good, coupled with the continued suspicious demeanor toward the enemy, could not fail to impress the emperor with the truth of the serious rumors which filled Germany. For a long time Wallenstein had been successful in giving his culpable negotiations with the enemy an appearance of legitimacy and in persuading the monarch who was still standing by him that the purpose of these secret parleys was nothing else than to give peace to Germany. But, impenetrable as he may have believed himself to be, the entire course of his actions justified the accusations with which his opponents were incessantly plying the emperor.

To convince himself whether there was any foundation for them or not, Ferdinand had at various times sent spies into Wallenstein's camp, but they could only return home with mere surmises, as the duke was careful never to give out anything in writing. However when finally even the ministers, who had hitherto been his supporters at the imperial court and upon whose estates Wallenstein had imposed equally heavy burdens, joined his enemies, when the elector of Bavaria threatened to enter into an alliance with Sweden if Wallenstein

was kept in command any longer, and finally, when the Spanish ambassador insisted upon his removal, and in case of a refusal warned that he would withhold the subsidies of his crown, the emperor saw himself for a second time under the necessity of acting summarily.

The ever increasing frequency with which the emperor interfered with the army soon taught the duke that the agreement with him was virtually canceled and his "uncrowning" was inevitable. One of his sub-commanders in Austria, whom Wallenstein had forbidden under penalty of decapitation to obey the court, had received an explicit order from the emperor to unite his troops with those of the elector of Bavaria, and Wallenstein himself received the peremptory command to send several regiments as a reënforcement to the cardinal-infante, who was on his way from Italy with an army. All these preparations indicated that it had finally been decided to disarm him gradually, with the intention of ruining him afterward by a single blow in his weak and defenseless state.

As a matter of self-defense he now had to hasten to carry out a plan which at first was formed only for his self-aggrandizement. Longer than was prudent he had hesitated, since the favorable "constellations" were still lacking, or, as he was wont to allay the impatience of his friends, the "time had not yet come." Nor had it come now, but the

urgent need did not permit waiting any longer for the favor of the stars.

The first thing done was to assure himself of the loyalty of the most prominent commanders and then to test the faith of the army which he had so generously reckoned upon. Three of them, Colonels Kinsky, Terzky and Illo, had long been drawn into the secret and the two former were attached to him by the bonds of family relations. The same ambition and the same hatred against the government, and the expectation of extravagant rewards, united them closely with Wallenstein, who had not scorned the basest means to augment the number of his followers. Once he had persuaded Colonel Illo to apply in Vienna for the title of a count and promised him at the same time that he would speak in his favor. Secretly, however, he wrote to the ministers to refuse the petition, as otherwise several would come forward who had equal merits and would claim the same reward. When Illo returned to the army, Wallenstein's first question was as to what success he had had with his application. Upon being informed of the negative result, he began to utter the most bitter complaints against the court: "Is that what we have deserved for our faithful services," he exclaimed, "that my recommendation is held in such little esteem, and your merits are refused such an insignificant reward? Who would devote his services any longer to such an ungrateful master?"

No, from now on I am the declared enemy of the House of Austria." Illo agreed and thus a close alliance was established between them.

However, the plans of the three intimates of the duke had been for a long time an impenetrable secret to the others, and the confidence with which Wallenstein spoke of the devotion of his officers was based solely upon the favors which he had shown them and upon their dissatisfaction with the court. But this wavering assumption had to become an absolute certainty before he could drop his mask and undertake any overt step against the emperor.

Count Piccolomini, the same who had distinguished himself by his courage at the battle of Lützen, was the first whose loyalty he put to the test. He had drawn this general to his side by considerable donations and he preferred him to all the others, as he was born under the same "planetary constellation" with him. To him he explained that, forced by the ingratitude of the emperor and by the imminent danger, he had irrevocably decided to leave the Austrian party, to join the enemy with the best part of the army and to make war upon the Austrian dynasty on all its frontiers until it had been exterminated root and branch. In this undertaking he had particularly reckoned upon Piccolomini and already in anticipation set aside the most splendid rewards for him. When the latter, to conceal his consternation over this amazing offer,

spoke of the obstacles and perils which would oppose such a hazardous enterprise, Wallenstein ridiculed his fears. "With such ventures," he exclaimed, "only the start is difficult, the stars are in my favor, we could not wish for a better opportunity, and we have to trust also a little in luck." His resolution was made, and he would, if it could not be done otherwise, take his chance at the head of a thousand horsemen. Piccolomini was too cautious to rouse the distrust of the duke by any further contradiction and yielded with apparent conviction to the weight of his arguments. So far went the delusion of the duke that, despite all the warnings of Count Terzky, it never entered his mind to doubt the sincerity of this man, who did not lose a moment to report the remarkable discovery to Vienna.

With the intention of taking the decisive step, Wallenstein called the commanders of the army to Pilsen in January, 1634, where he had gone immediately after leaving Bavaria. The latest command of the emperor to spare the imperial patrimonial dominions with winter quarters, to reconquer Regensburg in this wintry season, and to weaken the army by 6,000 men in order to reinforce the cardinal-infante, were serious enough to require a discussion in the assembled council of war, and with this pretext he concealed the real purpose of the conference from the curious and the mistrustful.

Sweden and Saxony were also secretly invited to negotiate about peace; with the commanders of the more distant armies arrangements were to be made in writing.

Twenty of the invited leaders appeared, but the most important of them—Gallas, Colloredo and Altringer—stayed away. The duke sent a second, more urgent invitation to them, but in the meantime, pending their arrival, he proceeded to the discussion. It was not a trifling task which he was now about to undertake. It was nothing less than to suggest to a proud, valiant nobility who were jealously guarding their honor that they commit the most ignominious disloyalty; and suddenly to appear, in the eyes of those who had hitherto been accustomed to see in him the reflected splendor of majesty, the judge of their actions, and the preserver of law, as a scoundrel, a corrupter and a rebel. It was not a small matter to shake to its very foundations a legal power established through the tradition of centuries and sacred by law and religion; to destroy all those enchantments of the senses and of the imagination, the formidable sentries of a legitimate throne; to uproot with ruthless hand all those ineradicable feelings of duty which spoke loudly and mightily in the breast of the subject for the born ruler. But, dazzled by the glamor of a crown, Wallenstein did not see the precipice which opened at his feet, and in the full and overflowing sensa-

tion of his power he failed—the usual fate of bold and strong natures—to appreciate the obstacles in their true extent and to calculate accordingly.

The traitor saw nothing but an army which was partly indifferent, and partly embittered against the imperial court; an army which was accustomed to pay homage to his prestige in blind submission, to tremble before him as its legislator and judge, and to obey his commands with cowering awe. In the exaggerated flatterings with which they bowed before his omnipotence, in the insolent abuses against court and government in which an unrestrained soldiery indulged, and which the noisy license of the camp excused, he thought to perceive the real sentiments of the army and the boldness with which they even dared to criticise the actions of the monarch seemed to guarantee to him the readiness of his troops to refuse obedience to such a despised master. However, what he thought to be such an easy matter proved an impossible obstacle; all his calculations were set at naught by his army's sense of duty. Intoxicated by the prestige which he wielded over such matchless troops, he set everything to the account of his personal greatness, without distinguishing between how much was due to his own personality and how much to the dignity of his office. Everybody was trembling before him because he was exercising a legitimate authority, because obedience to him was

a duty, because his prestige was consolidated by the majesty of the throne. Greatness may be able to compel admiration and awe for its own sake, but respect and submission are only given to legitimate greatness. Of this decisive advantage he was depriving himself at the moment when he revealed himself as a criminal.

Field-marshal von Illo took it upon himself to sound the sentiments of the commanders and to prepare them for the step which Wallenstein was expecting them to undertake. He began by explaining to them the recent demands of the imperial court upon the general and the army, and by the odious aspect which he knew how to impart to them he easily succeeded in inflaming the wrath of the entire assembly. After this clever introduction he dwelt with great eloquence upon the merits of the army and of the leader, and the ingratitude with which the emperor was wont to reward them. "Spanish influence," he asserted, "was guiding all the steps of the court; the ministry was in Spanish pay, only the duke of Friedland had hitherto opposed this tyranny, and for this reason incurred the deadly hatred of the Spaniards. To remove him from the command, or to do away with him altogether," so he continued, "had for a long time been the aim of their zealous endeavors, and until they could succeed with either of the two, they tried to undermine his power in the field. For

no other reason were they endeavoring to place the supreme command in the hands of the king of Hungary than that they could send this prince into the field as a willing tool of foreign suggestions. Thus they might be able better to consolidate the Spanish power in Germany."

Only in order to deplete the army, they demanded 6,000 men for the cardinal-infante, only to wear them out through a winter campaign did they persist in the reconquest of Regensburg in the rough season. All means for the sustenance of the army were rendered more difficult while the Jesuits and the ministers were enriching themselves by the sweat of the provinces and squandering the moneys that were intended for the troops. The general confessed his inability to keep his pledge to the army since the court had abandoned him. For all the long service which he had rendered the House of Austria for twenty-two years, for all the hardships which he had suffered, for all the riches which he had expanded out of his own treasures in the imperial interest, a second disgraceful dismissal was awaiting him.

"He declares he will not let it come to this. He is going to renounce his command on his own free volition before they can take it forcibly out of his hands. It is this," the speaker continued, "that he bids me tell the leaders. Everybody should now ask himself the question if it were advisable to lose

such a general. Where was the officer of this army to get the money which he had spent in the service of the emperor, and where could he obtain the well-deserved reward for his bravery, if *he* had gone, under whose eyes he had shown it?"

A general clamor that the army would not let the general resign interrupted the speaker; four of the most prominent ones were delegated to inform the duke of the wish of the assembly and to implore him not to quit the army. Wallenstein made a pretense of refusing, and only yielded after a second delegation had called upon him. This deferential action on his part seemed to deserve a favor in return from the commanders. As he was unwilling to resign his post without their knowledge and consent, he requested a written counter promise to stand by him firmly and loyally to the end, and not to allow themselves to be separated from him, and to shed the last drop of blood for him. Anyone who should withdraw from this union was to be looked upon as a faithless traitor, and treated by the others as a common enemy. The expressly mentioned condition: "As long as Wallenstein was using the army in the service of the emperor," removed all possibility of a misinterpretation, and none of the assembled commanders had any hesitation in giving his approval to so fair and plausible a request.

The reading of this document took place im-

mediately before a banquet which Field-marshal Illo had given especially for that purpose. After the meal was finished the signatures were to be taken. The host did his best to benumb the senses of his guests with strong drink, and not before he saw them stagger from the effects of the heavy vintage did he give them the paper to sign. The majority recklessly scrawled their names without actually knowing what they were doing, but a few who were more curious, or more cautious, perused the sheet again and discovered to their surprise that the clause: "As long as Wallenstein was using the army in the service of the emperor" had been omitted. Illo by a clever sleight of hand trick had changed the first copy for another in which that clause was missing. The deception became known, and many refused to attach their signature. Piccolomini, who saw through the whole atrocious scheme and was a participant only in order to inform the imperial court, so far forgot himself in his drunkenness that he proposed the health of the emperor. Count Terzky immediately rose, and declared that all those who would withdraw were perjured knaves. His threats, his presentation of the inevitable danger to which they were exposed, in case one persisted in his refusal, the example of the majority, and Illo's eloquence, finally overcame all doubts and the sheet was signed by every one without exception.

Wallenstein had now achieved his purpose, but the totally unexpected insubordination of some of the commanders suddenly awakened him out of the beautiful dream in which he had hitherto indulged. Besides, most of the names were such illegible scrawls that one could not help guessing the dishonest intention behind the whole matter. But instead of being induced to reflection by this warning hint of fate, he permitted his offended susceptibilities to overflow in undignified lamentations and curses. The following morning he called the commanders to him and personally undertook to repeat the whole purport of the discourse which Illo had held the day before. After he had poured out the vials of his wrath upon the court in the bitterest reproaches and abuses he reminded them of their insubordination, and declared that through this discovery he had been induced to revoke his promise not to resign his command. Dumfounded and perplexed the commanders departed, but reappeared after a short deliberation in the anteroom to apologize for the occurrence of the day before and to offer to sign the document anew.

Nothing else was needed except to get the same assurance from the generals who had stayed away, or, in case of a refusal, to seize their persons. Wallenstein therefore renewed his invitation and urged them to hasten their arrival. But before they appeared rumor had informed them of what

had happened in Pilsen, and this suddenly checked their hurry. Altringer remained in the fortified castle Frauenberg under the pretext of illness. Gallas actually came, but only to enable him as an eyewitness to inform the imperial court all the better of the danger that was threatening. The revelations that he and Piccolomini made converted the anxieties of the court into absolute certainty.

Similar discoveries which the court also made at the same time in other places did not leave the slightest doubt, and the quick change in the commands in Silesia and Austria seemed to indicate a highly suspicious undertaking. The danger was urgent and help had to come quickly. And yet the court did not wish to begin with the execution of the sentence but to proceed strictly "according to justice." Secret orders went to the most prominent commanders of whose loyalty the emperor was absolutely certain to arrest the duke of Friedland with his two followers Illo and Terzky, in whatever manner this could be done, and to take them into custody so that they could be tried and answer the charges against them. But in case this could not be accomplished in an orderly and quiet manner, then the public safety demanded to seize them, "either dead or alive." At the same time Gallas received an open mandate in which all commanders and officers were informed of the imperial decree, the army discharged of their duty toward the

traitor and, until a new generalissimo had been appointed, referred to Lieutenant General Gallas. With a view of facilitating for the seduced rebels the return to their duty, and not to throw the guilty into despair, the court granted them a complete amnesty for everything that had been committed in Pilsen against the majesty of the emperor.

General von Gallas did not feel quite at ease in the honor which had been bestowed upon him. He was staying in Pilsen under the very eyes of him whose fate was in his hands, and in the power of his enemy, who had a hundred eyes to watch him. If Wallenstein should discover the secret of his commission, nothing could protect him from the duke's revenge and despair. If it was in itself a serious task to keep such an order secret, how much more precarious was it to carry it into execution!

The opinions of the commanders were uncertain, and it was at least doubtful if they would be found prepared to trust the imperial assurances after once the fatal step had been taken, and suddenly to renounce all the glorious hopes which they had set upon Wallenstein. And then, what a perilous venture to lay hand upon the person of a man who had hitherto been regarded as inviolable; who had become the object of the greatest respect by the long exercise of the highest authority and by an obedience which had developed into a habit; who was endowed with everything that imparts out-

ward majesty and inward greatness; whose very appearance inspired a servile awe, and who, by a mere sign, could decide over life and death!

To seize this man like a common criminal in the midst of sentries who surrounded him, in a town which seemed absolutely devoted to him, and suddenly to convert the object of so long an accustomed veneration into an object of scorn and pity, was a task which made even the most courageous hesitate. So deeply were fear and respect rooted in the breasts of his soldiers that even the enormous crime of high treason could not wholly destroy these sentiments.

Gallas saw the impossibility of executing his order under the very eyes of the duke and it was his most ardent wish to have a discussion with Altringer before he ventured a step in any direction. As the protracted absence of the latter already began to rouse the duke's suspicion, Gallas offered himself personally to repair to Frauenberg and induce Altringer as his relative to journey to Pilsen. Wallenstein received the proof of his zeal with such unconcealed pleasure that he placed his own carriage at his disposal. Glad over the successful ruse, Gallas left Pilsen without delay, and commissioned Piccolomini to watch Wallenstein's steps; he himself did not hesitate to make use of the imperial mandate whenever this could be done, and the declaration of the troops was more favorable

than he could have expected. Instead of bringing his friend with him to Pilsen, he sent him to Vienna to protect the emperor against a threatened attack and he went to Upper Austria, where he feared the greatest danger from the near approach of Duke Bernhard of Weimar. In Bohemia the towns of Budweis and Tabor were again occupied for the emperor and all preparations were made to counteract the actions of the traitor quickly and with the greatest vigor.

Since Gallas also did not seem to return, Piccolomini ventured to test the credulity of the duke once more. He asked permission to bring Gallas back and Wallenstein was trapped a second time. This incomprehensible blindness can only be explained as an outcome of his inordinate pride, which never considered it necessary to revise its judgment of a person and which would never even admit the possibility of its own mistake. Count Piccolomini, too, was conveyed in his carriage to Linz, where he followed Gallas's example, and even went a step further. He had promised Wallenstein to return; this he did, but at the head of an army to attack the duke in Pilsen. Another army under General von Suys was hurrying to Prague to take that town under imperial rule and to defend it against an attack by the rebels. At the same time Gallas proclaimed himself to all the scattered armies of Austria as the only chief from whom the army

must receive orders. In all the imperial camps placards were posted which outlawed the duke and four of his intimates, and released the armies from their duties toward the traitor.

The example set at Linz was emulated generally, the soldiers cursed the memory of the traitor, and all armies began to desert him. At last, when Piccolomini also did not return, the veil dropped from Wallenstein's eyes, and fearful was his awakening. But even then he believed in the veracity of the stars and in the loyalty of the army. Immediately after the news of Piccolomini's desertion had reached him, he issued the order that in future the army need not obey any command which was not given by him direct, or by Terzky or Illo. He hurriedly prepared to go to Prague, where he intended finally to drop the mask and openly declare himself against the emperor. All troops were to assemble before Prague and from there overrun Austria with the utmost speed. Duke Bernhard, who had been drawn into the conspiracy, was to support the operations of the duke of Friedland with Swedish troops and make a diversion on the Danube. Terzky was already hastening to Prague in advance and only the want of horses prevented the duke from following with the rest of the regiments who had remained loyal to him. But while he was waiting anxiously for news from Prague, he was informed of the loss of that town, of the desertion of his generals and

of his troops, of the disclosure of his entire plot, and of the hurried advance of Piccolomini, who had sworn to destroy him. Suddenly all his schemes collapsed, and all his hopes vanished. He was a lonely man, forsaken by all to whom he had shown favor, betrayed by everybody upon whom he had relied.

But it is such crucial trials that really test a great character. Deceived in all his expectations, Wallenstein did not renounce one of his schemes, nor give up anything as absolutely lost, because he still had faith in himself. The time had come when he was in need of the assistance of the Swedes and Saxons which he had wanted so often in the past, and when all doubts in the sincerity of his sentiments must vanish. And now, when Oxenstierna and Arnheim realized his sinister intentions and his need, they did not hesitate any longer to embrace the favorable opportunity, and promised him their support. From the Saxon side Duke Franz Albert of Saxony-Lauenburg was to reënforce him with 4,000, and from the Swedish side Duke Bernhard of Weimar and Count-Palatine Christian of Birkenfeld with 6,000 picked troops. Wallenstein left Pilsen with Terzky's regiment and the few who had remained faithful to him, or at least pretended to be so, and hurried to Eger on the frontier of the kingdom with a view to be nearer to Upper Palatinate and to facilitate the union with

Duke Bernhard. He had not yet learned of the proclamation which declared him a public enemy and a traitor; only on his arrival at Eger did this thunderbolt strike him. He was still relying upon an army which Count Schafgotsch was holding in readiness for him in Silesia, and he continued to flatter himself with the hope that many, even of those who had deserted him long before, would return at the first sign that the star of his fortune was again in the ascendant.

Even when fleeing to Eger—so little had the distressing experience daunted his daring courage—he occupied himself with the monstrous plan of dethroning the emperor. In such circumstances it happened that one of his retinue asked permission to give him some advice. "With the emperor," he began, "Your Serene Highness is a well-known, great and highly esteemed man; with the enemy however, you are yet an uncertain king. It would not be acting wisely to risk the certain for the uncertain. The enemy will make use of Your Highness because the opportunity is favorable; your person, however, will always remain an object of suspicion to him, and he will always be afraid that one day you will deal with him as you are now dealing with the emperor. Therefore desist, while it is yet time!" "And how could it be helped now?" the duke interrupted him. "You have," replied the other, "forty thousand in armor" (re-

ferring to the gold coins of the period, which were ducats with men in armor) "in your coffers. Take them and go straightway to the imperial court. Once there, you declare that all your previous steps you had only undertaken to test the loyalty of the imperial servants and to distinguish between the honest and the suspicious characters; and as now the majority have shown themselves inclined to revolt, you had come to warn His Imperial Majesty against these dangerous people. Thus you are making a traitor of everyone who is now trying to make a knave of you. At the imperial court you are sure of a welcome with the 40,000 'men in-armor,' and you will again be the first Friedlander." "The proposition is good," replied Wallenstein after some reflection, "but the devil doesn't trust it."

While the duke was carrying on his negotiations with the enemy from Eger, consulting the stars, and nourishing fresh hopes, the steel which was to end his life was sharpened almost under his very eyes. The imperial proclamation which had outlawed him did not fail to have its effect, and as the avenging Nemesis would have it, the ungrateful was to end his life under the blows of the ungrateful. Amongst his officers Wallenstein had bestowed particular favors upon an Irishman by the name of Leslie, and founded the whole fortune of the man. And it was this Leslie who felt himself called to execute the death sentence and earn

the executioner's reward. No sooner had Leslie arrived at Eger with the followers of the duke, when he informed the commandant of the town, Colonel Butler, and Lieutenant Colonel Gordon, two Protestant Scotchmen, of all the treasonable designs of the duke, which the latter had indiscreetly confided to him on the journey. Leslie found in them two men who were capable of stern resolution. They had to choose between treachery and duty, between the rightful master and a fleeing rebel who was forsaken by all. Although the latter had been the common benefactor, the choice could not be in doubt for one moment. They declared firmly and openly for the emperor and demanded the swiftest measures against the public enemy. The opportunity was favorable, and his evil genius had delivered him into the hands of retribution, but, not to forestall the arm of justice, they resolved to take the victim alive, and parted with the daring determination to make a prisoner of the duke. Profound secrecy surrounded this dark plot, and Wallenstein did not have the slightest thought of the doom that was hovering over his head; on the contrary, he flattered himself that in the garrison of Eger were his bravest and most loyal champions.

At this moment he was handed the imperial decree containing his sentence, which had been promulgated in every camp. Then he realized the fearful danger which surrounded him, the absolute im-

possibility of retreat, his terrible predicament, and the necessity of appealing to the mercy of the enemy. The whole flaming wrath of his wounded heart turned against Leslie, and in the violence of his outpourings he divulged his last remaining secret. He told this officer of his resolve to deliver Eger and Ellenbogen, the keys to the kingdom, into the hands of the count-palatinate of Birkenfeld, and at the same time informed him of the imminent arrival of Duke Bernhard in Eger, of which he had been informed through a courier that very night.

This discovery, which Leslie communicated to his accomplices, altered their previous decision. The urgent danger warranted no further consideration. At any moment Eger could fall into the hands of the enemy, and by a quick revolt liberate their prisoner. In order to forestall such an unfortunate contingency, the plotters determined to murder Wallenstein and his four intimates the following night.

With a view to carry this plan out with the least possible noise, the deed was to be executed at a banquet which Colonel Butler gave in the castle at Eger. All the others appeared, but Wallenstein, who was much too agitated to enjoy merry society, had himself excused. They had therefore to change their plans so far as he was concerned; against the others they resolved to proceed as agreed upon.

With credulous fearlessness the three commanders Illo, Terzky and Wilhelm Kinsky appeared, and with them Neumann, an officer of great ability whom Terzky employed in every intricate business which required brains. Before their arrival, the conspirators had taken the most reliable soldiers from the garrison, who had been informed of the plot, into the castle; all exits were well guarded, and in an apartment next to the dining room six dragoons of Butler's regiment had been secreted who were to rush into the room at a given signal, and strike the traitors down. Without the slightest idea of the peril which was hovering over them, the care free guests abandoned themselves to the pleasures of the table, and the health of Wallenstein, no longer the imperial servant, but the sovereign prince, was drunk from brimming goblets.

The wine opened all hearts, and in the highest spirits Illo asserted that within three days an army would be there, the like of which Wallenstein had never led before. "Yes," Neumann joined in, "and then he hoped he could wash his hands in the blood of the Austrians." Amid such conversations dessert was served, and then Leslie gave the prearranged signal to close the drawbridge, and took all gate keys into his possession. Suddenly the dining room was filled with armed soldiers who posted themselves, with the unexpected salute, "*Vivat Ferdinandus*," behind the chairs of the doomed guests.

The startled four sprang to their feet. Kinsky and Terzky were stabbed to death before they could defend themselves; Neumann, during the confusion, dashed out to the yard, where, however, he was recognized by the sentries and killed on the spot.

Illo alone strove bravely to defend himself. He stood up against a window, from where he reproached Butler for his treachery with the bitterest abuse, and challenged him to fight with him honestly and chivalrously. Only after a desperate resistance and after he had killed two of his enemies did he sink to the floor, overpowered by their numbers and pierced by ten frightful stabs.

Immediately after the deed was done Leslie hurried to the town to prevent a riot. When the sentries at the gate saw him running in breathless haste, they fired their muskets at him, thinking he was one of the rebels, but without hitting him. The reports of the shots aroused the town guards and Leslie's presence was needed to calm them. At great length he explained to them all the particulars of the conspiracy and the means that had been adopted against it, the fate of the four rebels, and that which was awaiting the leader himself.

When Leslie found the sentinels prepared to join him in his purpose, he took from them a new oath to be loyal to the emperor, and to live and die

for the good cause. Presently a hundred **Butler** dragoons from the castle were admitted to the town, where they had to ride through all the streets in order to hold the duke's adherents well in hand and to nip any possible riot in the bud. At the same time the conspirators took possession of all the gates of the town and of every entrance of the duke's palace, which adjoined the market place, so that the duke could neither escape nor obtain any help from outside.

But before they proceeded to finish the plot, there was a long discussion of the conspirators in the castle, whether they should really slay him, or be content to make him prisoner. Bespattered with blood, and over the dead bodies of their slain companions, as it were, these fiery fellows shrank from the grewsome deed which was to end so remarkable a life. Before their mental eye they saw him, the leader in battle, in his halcyon days, surrounded by a victorious army in the full glory and splendor of his sovereign grandeur, and once more the long accustomed fear seized their quavering hearts. But soon the realization of the urgent danger stifled this passing emotion. One recalled the threats which **Neumann** and **Illo** had made at the banquet, one saw the Saxons and Swedes approach **Eger** with a formidable army, and there was no salvation except in the swift destruction of the traitor. The verdict of death was decreed and the hired assassin, **Cap-**

tain Devereux, another Irishman, was selected to carry out the decree.

While these three in the castle were discussing his fate, Wallenstein was in a conversation with Seni endeavoring to read it in the stars. "The danger is not yet past," said the astrologer with portentous impressiveness. "It is," said the duke, who, as ever, insisted upon his own way. "But that you will be thrown into jail one of these days," he continued, also prophetically, "that, my friend Seni, is written in the stars." The astrologer had asked to retire and Wallenstein was in bed when Captain Devereux with six halberdiers appeared before his residence and was admitted by the sentry, since it was nothing unusual to see him go in and out from the general's apartments at such an advanced hour. A page who met him on the stairs and wished to give the alarm was pierced through by a pike. In the anteroom the assassins encountered a valet who was emerging from the bedroom of his master, and had just taken the key out of the door. Putting his finger on his lips, the frightened slave asked them not to make any noise, as the duke had just gone to sleep. "Friend," Devereux roared at him, "now it is time to make a noise." With these words he ran against the locked door, which had been bolted from the inside, and burst it open with a vigorous kick.

Wallenstein had been awakened out of his first

sleep by the report of a musket which had gone off, and ran to the window to call the sentry. At this moment he heard from the windows of the adjoining building the wailings and lamentations of the countesses Terzky and Kinsky, who had just been informed of the fate of their husbands. Before he had time to think over this terrible event, Devereux was standing in the room with his henchmen. He was still in his nightshirt as he had sprung out of his bed, and leaning against a table near the window. "Are you the knave," Devereux shouted at him, "who wants to lead the emperor's people over to the enemy, and tear the crown from his head? Now you will have to die." He paused for one short moment as if he was awaiting an answer, but surprise and defiance made Wallenstein silent. Spreading out his arms widely, he received the deadly thrust of the halberd in his breast, and dropped to the floor without uttering a sound.

The following day an express courier arrived from the duke of Lauenburg with the report of the approach of that prince. He was taken prisoner, and another servant in the duke's livery was sent to lure him to Eger. The ruse succeeded and Franz Albert delivered himself into the hands of the enemies. Duke Bernhard of Weimar, who was already on his way to Eger, narrowly escaped a similar fate. Fortunately he received the news of Wallenstein's death in time to make a quick retreat.

Ferdinand spared a tear for the fate of his general, and had three thousand soul masses read in Vienna for the murdered officers, but he did not forget to reward the murderers with golden chains, other dignities and manorial estates.

Thus Wallenstein closed, at the age of fifty years, his extraordinary life, exalted by ambition, but doomed through his greed for honor. The virtues of the sovereign—prudence, justice, firmness and courage—towered high in his character; but he lacked the gentler virtues which adorn the hero and call forth a people's love for the ruler. Fear was the talisman through which he acted; extravagant in reward as well as in punishment, he knew how to hold the zeal of his inferiors in constant expectation, and no field marshal of the Middle Ages or any later period could boast of having been obeyed as was he. He tested the obedience of the troops by arbitrary orders, and rewarded the willingness to obey him even in small matters with lavishing munificence, as he esteemed obedience higher than the object in view. Once he issued an order providing, under penalty of death, that none but red field sashes were to be worn. No sooner had a captain of horse heard the command than he took off his gold embroidered sash and trampled it under his foot. Wallenstein, who was informed of this incident, appointed him colonel on the spot. His foresight was always alertly

directed upon the whole, and with all his seeming arbitrariness he never lost sight of the principle of efficiency. The robberies of the soldiers on friendly territory had caused stricter decrees against the marauders, and everybody who was caught stealing had to expect the hangman's rope. It so happened that Wallenstein himself encountered a soldier in the field whom he had seized as a transgressor of the law without a trial, and condemned to the gallows with the usual thundering remark: "Let the beast be hanged," against which there never was the slightest objection. The soldier proved his innocence, but the irrevocable sentence had been pronounced. "Then one ought to hang you innocent," said the inhuman leader, "for the guilty will tremble all the more!" Already preparations were made to execute the unfortunate when the soldier, who saw himself lost without the slightest chance of rescue, made the desperate resolve not to die without revenge. In his terrible rage he attacked his judge, but was disarmed by the superior numbers before he could carry out his resolution. "Now let him trundle," said the duke. "It will arouse enough fear with all the others." His liberality was supported by enormous revenues, which have been estimated at three million thalers annually, not taking into consideration the tremendous amounts which he knew how to extort under the name of war contributions. His open mind and clear intelligence

raised him above the religious prejudices of his times, and the Jesuits never forgave him that he saw through their system, and would recognize in the pope no more than a Roman bishop.

However, as nobody ever yet had a happy end who was at loggerheads with the Church, from the days of Samuel the prophet to the 18th century, so also Wallenstein. He was but one additional victim.

Through monks' intrigues he lost his command at Regensburg, and his life at Eger; through the cabals of monks he perhaps lost what was more than both,—his honest name and his reputation with posterity. For we must admit in justice and fairness that they are not impartial pens that have recorded for us the history of this extraordinary man, and that the treason of the duke and his designs upon the Bohemian crown are not based upon strictly proved facts, but only upon mere suspicion. The document has not yet been found which reveals to us the secret motives of his action with historical authority, and among his public and generally well-known deeds, there was none which could not have been actuated by a harmless motive. Many of his most severely criticised steps only prove to us his earnest wish for peace, and the majority of the other acts might be explained by his justified suspicions of the emperor, and the excusable resolution to uphold his own importance.

A misfortune was his irreconcilable temperament, but none of his actions justifies the absolute charge of treason. When, finally, need and despair drove him to actions which deserve such judgment, this cannot be a justification of the judgment itself. Thus Wallenstein fell, not because he was a rebel, but he revolted because he fell. It was a misfortune for the living man that he had made an enemy of a victorious party,—a misfortune for the dead man that this enemy survived him and could write his own version of the history of the duke of Friedland.

CHAPTER XII

DISSOLUTION OF THE PROTESTANT UNION

WALLENSTEIN'S death necessitated a new generalissimo, and the emperor at last yielded to the persuasions of the Spaniards to elevate his son Ferdinand, king of Hungary, to this dignity. Under him Count Gallas had the command, actually exercising the functions of a field marshal while the prince was merely a figurehead without importance. Soon a considerable force assembled under Ferdinand's colors, the duke of Lorraine personally united his troops with him, and from Italy arrived the cardinal-infante with 10,000 men to reënforce his army. With a view of driving the enemy from the Danube, the new field marshal undertook the siege of Regensburg which the court had been unable to force Wallenstein to carry out. In vain Duke Bernhard of Weimar penetrated into the interior of Bavaria to lure the enemy away from this town; Ferdinand began the siege with determination, and the imperial city, after the most stubborn resistance, opened its gates to him. Donauwörth met a similar fate soon after, and

presently Nördlingen in Suabia was beleaguered. The loss of so many cities must have been all the more serious to the Swedes since the friendship of these towns had hitherto been so valuable for the success of their arms, and it was impossible to be indifferent to their fate. To their undying shame it must be said that they abandoned their allies and exposed them to the revenge of an implacable foe. Finally the Swedish army resolved to march upon Nördlingen under the command of Horn and Bernhard, in order to relieve this town, even if it should cost a battle.

It was a precarious enterprise, as the forces of the enemy were considerably superior to those of the Swedes, and prudence suggested not to give battle under such circumstances, as the hostile forces would have had to separate within a short time and the destination of the Italian troops called them to the Netherlands. However, the Swedes could select a position that would cover Nördlingen and cut off the enemy's supplies. All these reasons Gustavus Horn mentioned in the council of war, but his representations were not heeded by minds who, emboldened by continued success, thought to hear in the advice of caution only the voice of fear. Overruled by the higher prestige of Duke Bernhard, Gustavus Horn reluctantly determined to give battle the disastrous result of which was to him a foregone conclusion.

The whole fate of the fight seemed to hinge upon the occupation of an elevation which commanded the imperial camp. The attempt to climb it the same night had failed, as the laborious transport of the guns through woods and defiles hampered the march of the troops. When they appeared in front of the hill toward midnight, the enemy had already taken possession, and fortified it by strong intrenchments. They waited therefore until daylight to attack it by storm. The impetuous bravery of the Swedes overcame all obstacles, the moon-shaped intrenchments were successfully mounted by each brigade detailed to this work; but, as both were penetrating into the fortifications from opposite sides, they encountered one another and confusion arose. At this juncture a powder barrel exploded and caused the greatest disorder among the Swedes. The imperial cavalry charged into the broken ranks, and the panic became general. No persuasion of the leader could induce the fleeing soldiers to renew the attack.

He, therefore, resolved, in order to hold this important post, to lead fresh troops against it; in the meantime several Spanish regiments had taken possession of it and every attempt to conquer the height was frustrated by the bravery of these troops. A regiment sent by Duke Bernhard attacked seven times and seven times it was repulsed. Soon the Swedes realized the mistake of not having taken

possession of this post. The fire of the hostile guns from the hill had a terrible effect upon the adjoining wing of the Swedes, so that Horn, who was leading there, determined to retreat. Instead of covering him and checking the pursuing enemy, Duke Bernhard himself was driven down into the plain by the superior forces of the enemy, where his fleeing cavalry contributed to the general confusion in Horn's army, and made defeat and rout universal. Nearly the entire infantry was either captured or sabred; more than 12,000 men remained dead on the battle field; 80 cannons, about 4,000 wagons and 300 banners and standards fell into the hands of the imperialists. Gustavus Horn and three other generals were made prisoners. With a great effort Duke Bernhard saved a few remnants of the army, which finally rallied to his colors near Frankfort.

The Nördlingen defeat gave the chancellor a second sleepless night on German soil; enormous was the loss in consequence of it. The superiority in the field had now been lost for the Swedes and with it the confidence of all allies, whose assistance had been the main reason of the early successes. A dangerous split threatened the entire Protestant Union. Fear and terror seized the whole party, while the Catholics again took courage. Suabia and the surrounding districts were the first to feel the consequences of the defeat at Nördlingen and Württemberg especially was invaded by the vic-



Wallenstein's Death.

torious imperial army. All the members of the Heilbronn union now trembled before the revenge of the emperor; everyone who could saved himself by flight to Strasburg, and the helpless imperial cities awaited their fate with the greatest anxiety. A little moderation toward the vanquished would have brought all these weaker constituents of the empire back under the rulership of the emperor. The harshness however with which Austria treated those who surrendered voluntarily, encouraged the others to the most desperate resistance.

In this embarrassment everybody was seeking help and advice from Oxenstierna, and he was seeking it from the German princes. There was a lack of armies, but money also was needed to enlist new ones and to pay the old troops their overdue wages. Oxenstierna applied to the elector of Saxony, who was about to withdraw from the Swedish cause and to negotiate peace in Pirna with the emperor. He asked the Lower Saxon princes for assistance, but the latter had long been tired of the Swedish claims and requests for money, and now cared only for themselves, and Duke Georg of Lüneburg, instead of hurrying to help Upper Germany, besieged Minden with the intention of keeping it for himself. Left helpless by his German allies, the chancellor endeavored to get assistance from foreign powers. England, Holland and Venice were asked for money and troops and, driven by the extreme

need, he determined to take the last reluctant step and throw himself into the arms of France.

At last the moment arrived to which Richelieu had long been looking forward with impatience. Only the absolute impossibility of saving themselves by any other means could induce the Protestant rulers in Germany to support the claims of France upon Alsatia. This extreme case of need had now become actuality. France was indispensable and she asked a high price for the active share which she intended to take from then on in the German war. With glory and honor she now appeared upon the political scene. Already Oxenstierna, who lost little in signing away Germany's rights and possessions, had ceded to France the imperial fortress Philippsburg, and the remainder of the places demanded by Richelieu; now also the Upper German Protestants sent a delegation in their name to deliver into French protection Alsatia, the fortress Breisach (which had yet to be conquered), and all places on the upper Rhine which were the key to Germany.

What French protection meant had been seen at the bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun, which France had been protecting for centuries even against their rightful owners. The Trier territory already had a French garrison; Lorraine was as good as conquered, since it could be flooded at any moment by an army and was not able to resist alone its formidable neighbor. Now there was the justi-

fied hope for France also to incorporate Alsatia into her extended possessions, and, as the Spanish Netherlands were divided with the Dutch soon after this, to make the Rhine the natural frontier against Germany. So shamefully were German rights sold by German rulers to this faithless, greedy power, who under the cloak of an unselfish friendship was only striving after aggrandizement, and, while she with an air of honesty assumed the name of a protector, was merely endeavoring to spread her own nets and gather in whatever she could in the general overturning.

For these important concessions France was prepared to cause a diversion for the Swedish arms by making war upon the Spaniards, and, in case it should come to a breach with the emperor, to support an army of 12,000 men on this side of the Rhine, which eventually would have to operate against Austria in unison with the Swedes and the Germans. For the war with the Spaniards, the latter themselves gave the desired cause. They attacked the town of Trier from the Netherlands, sabred the French garrison which occupied this place, seized the elector in violation of all international law, as he had placed himself under the protection of the French, and led him to Flanders as a prisoner. When the cardinal-infante, as governor of the Spanish Netherlands, refused the demanded satisfaction to the king of France, and also

to liberate the captured elector, Richelieu declared war upon him in Brussels after the old usage, by a herald; and hostilities began in earnest by three different armies, in Milan, Veltlin and Flanders.

The French minister seemed to treat the war upon the emperor with less earnestness, as there were less advantages to reap and more difficulties to overcome. But in spite of this a fourth army under the command of the cardinal La Valette was sent across the Rhine into Germany, which, after having joined Duke Bernhard, began advancing against the imperialists without any previous declaration of war.

A far more serious blow than the defeat at Nördlingen for the Swedes was the reconciliation of the elector of Saxony with the emperor, which, after alternating attempts to promote and to prevent it, at last took place in the year 1634 in Pirna and was ratified in May of the following year by a formal peace at Prague. Never had the elector been able to countenance the arrogations of the Swedes in Germany, and his aversion toward this foreign power which laid down the law for the German empire had increased with every new demand which Oxenstierna made upon the German rulers. This hostile feeling against the Swedes was a strong support of the endeavors of the Spanish court to bring about a peace between Saxony and the emperor. Tired of the miseries of such a protracted and devastating war which made the Saxon countries the

scene of fighting before all others, moved by the general hardships which friend and foe caused without distinction to his subjects, and won over by the tempting offers of the Austrian House, the elector at last abandoned the common cause, and, less concerned over the fate of his fellow rulers and German freedom, he only thought to promote his own advantages even at the expense of the whole.

The misery in Germany had increased to such an appalling degree that prayers for peace continually rose to Heaven from multitudes of pale lips. Where formerly thousands of happy and busy people had toiled and harvested there were now only deserts, with ruins where nature had bestowed her lavish gifts and wealth and abundance once reigned. The fields, abandoned by the industrious plowman, lay untilled and devastated, and wherever a new seed was sprouting or a crop was waiting to be harvested, the marching of the armies tramped out in one day the fruit of a whole year's labor, the last hope of a starving people. Burned castles, destroyed acres, and villages in ashes covered the landscape for miles, while the impoverished inhabitants augmented the numbers of the murderous hordes, and avenged themselves for the hardships which they had suffered upon their poor fellow citizens who had hitherto been exempt from the ravages of the war. There was no protection

against oppression but to be the oppressor oneself.

The towns languished under the scourge of an unrestrained and rapacious soldiery who robbed the property of the citizens, and with the most cruel wantonness used the liberty of war, the license of their profession and the law of necessity. If whole territories were converted into deserts by the marching of an army, if others were impoverished by winter-quarters or had their resources drained by war contributions, they only had to suffer a temporary misery, and the work of a year could make the hardships of a few months forgotten. However, there was no relief for those who had a garrison within their walls or in their neighborhood, and their unhappy fate could not even be assuaged by the changing fortunes of war, since the victor trod in the steps of the vanquished and friend and foe alike showed no regard for human rights. The neglect of the fields, the destruction of the crops, and the multiplication of the armies who swept over the drained territories brought in their train fearful famines, and in the latter years failures of crops completed the misery. The crowding of people in camps and quarters, penury and want on one side and revelry and debauchery on the other, produced pestilential epidemics which desolated the country more than fire and sword. All bonds of law and order were dissolved by this long disruption, the respect for the rights of man, the fear of the

law, the purity of morals—all disappeared. Faith and loyalty deteriorated where brute force alone wielded the scepter; lawlessness and vice increased appallingly and the people degenerated with the countries. No class was spared by the wanton cruelty, no property was sacred to necessity and rapaciousness. The soldier (to concentrate the misery of those days into one word) ruled, and this most brutal of all despots not unfrequently made his own officers feel his superiority. The leader of an army was a more important person in the country where he was staying for the time than the rightful regent, who was often compelled to hide himself in his castles from him. The whole of Germany teemed with such petty tyrants, and the countries had to suffer equally from their enemies and from their defenders.

These wounds were all the more painful when one remembered that they were foreign powers which sacrificed Germany to their avarice, and purposely prolonged the miseries of the war in order to attain their unholy purpose. For the sake of Sweden's enrichment and conquests, Germany had to bleed under the scourge of the war, and in order that Richelieu might remain necessary in France the torch of strife was not extinguished in the German empire.

But they were not all selfish voices that declared themselves against peace, and if Sweden as well as

some German rulers desired the continuation of the war from impure motives, a sound statesmanship was in favor of it. Could one expect a fair peace from the emperor after the defeat at Nördlingen? And if one could not attain this, should one have suffered the miseries of the war for seventeen years, and squandered all his strength to win nothing in the end, or even be the loser? Why shed so much blood if everything remained as it had been, if the people could not better their rights, if all that one had gained with such efforts had to be relinquished at the conclusion of peace?

Was it not prudent to bear for awhile the burden which had been on one's shoulders so long, with a view of earning some compensation for the suffering of twenty years? And there was no doubt about an advantageous peace if only Sweden and the German Protestants held closely together in the field, as well as in the cabinet, looked vigorously after their common interest and refused to be divided. Only their separation made the enemy powerful, and removed the hope of a lasting and satisfactory peace. And this greatest of all evils the elector of Saxony had caused to the Protestants by becoming reconciled with Austria in a separate peace. Even before the battle of Nördlingen he had opened the negotiations with the emperor, but the disastrous result of this battle accelerated the conclusion of the agreement. The confidence in the

assistance of the Swedes had disappeared, and he doubted if they would ever be able to recover from so serious a blow. The division among their own leaders, the bad discipline of the army and the weakness of the Swedish kingdom did not promise any more great deeds from them. All the more need of hastening to make use of the generosity of the emperor, who did not withdraw his offers after the victory of Nördlingen. Oxenstierna, who assembled the princes in Frankfort, was demanding, but the emperor was giving, and it did not require a great deal of reflection which of the two one should follow.

Meanwhile, however, Saxony wished to prevent the appearance of neglecting the common cause and thinking only of the profit accruing to her. All the German princes, even the Swedes, had been invited to coöperate in the conclusion of this peace, and to partake in it, although electoral Saxony and the emperor were the only powers which were actually concluding it, thereby practically becoming the law-givers of Germany. The complaints of the Protestant rulers were discussed in it, their relations and rights were decided by this arbitrary tribunal and even the fate of the religions was determined without the attendance of the most interested members. It was to be a general peace, a law of the empire, to be proclaimed as such, and to be formally executed by an executive army of the empire.

Whoever opposed it was an enemy of the realm, and the Protestants had, contrary to all rights of the princes, to acknowledge a law in the making of which they had not been consulted. Thus the Prague peace was in its mere form alone a work of arbitrariness, as it was in its substance.

The restitution edict had primarily caused the breach between the emperor and the elector of Saxony, and hence this point had to be considered at the reconciliation. Without expressly and formally nullifying it, it was provided in the peace of Prague, that all direct chapters, and of the indirect ones those that had been confiscated and occupied by the Protestants after the Passau agreement, should remain for a period of forty years in possession of that principality in which the restitution edict had found them, but they should have no vote in the diet. Before the end of this term, a commission of both religious confessions in equal numbers was to dispose of them in a peaceable and lawful manner, and, in case it could not even then come to a final decision, each party should be reinstated in the possession of the rights which it had exercised before the issue of the restitution edict. This arrangement, far from destroying the seed of strife, only suspended its pernicious effect for a time and the germs of a new war infected this article of the Prague peace.

The arch chapter of Magdeburg remained with

Prince August of Saxony and that of Halberstadt with Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. Four districts were detached from the Magdeburg territory and donated to electoral Saxony; Christian Wilhelm of Brunswick was to be satisfied in some other way with the administration of Magdeburg. To the dukes of Mecklenburg, if they joined the peace, their country, which fortunately they possessed already through the generosity of Gustavus Adolphus, would be restored and Donauwörth again have its imperial charter.

The important claim of the Palatinate heirs, however valuable it was to the Protestant part of the empire not to lose this electoral vote, remained untouched, because—a Lutheran prince does not owe justice to a Reformed one. All that the Protestant princes, the League and the emperor had captured from each other in the war was to be restored; all that the foreign powers, Sweden and France, had appropriated was to be taken from them by the signatories of the peace. The troops of the latter were to be united into one powerful army, which, supported and paid by the empire, was to carry out the provisions of this peace by force of arms.

As the peace of Prague had to be a general law of the empire, all those points which did not concern it were embodied in a subsidiary agreement. In this the Lausitz was conferred upon the elector of Saxony as a Bohemian tenure, and special

negotiations were opened regarding the religious freedom of this country and of Silesia.

All Lutheran rulers were invited to accept the peace of Prague, and under this condition obtain the benefit of the amnesty; only the princes of Württemberg and Baden, whose countries were being held by the emperor—the latter not particularly anxious to give them back unconditionally—Austria's own subjects, who had been fighting against their sovereign, and all those princes who under Oxenstierna's direction constituted the council of the Upper German districts, were excluded, not so much with the idea of continuing the war against them as of selling the peace, which had become vital to them, at a dearer price. The emperor was to hold their countries as security until the conditions of the peace had been accepted in full, and everything was restored to its former state. Equal justice toward all would perhaps have reestablished the reciprocal confidence between head and members, between Protestants and Catholics, between Reformed and Lutherans, and, forsaken by all their allies, the Swedes would have been compelled to take an ignominious departure from the empire. But these unfair measures strengthened the princes of the Oxenstierna council in their mistrust and resistance, and made it easier for the Swedes to pile fresh fuel on the war fire and to retain a following in Germany.

The peace of Prague, as was to be expected, found a very divided reception in Germany. In the endeavor to bring both parties closer together, the court incurred the reproaches of both. The Protestants complained of the restrictions which they had to suffer in this peace and the Catholics thought that this objectionable sect was treated with far too much favor at the expense of the true Church. According to the latter the empire had given up some of its inalienable rights by granting to the Lutherans the forty-year enjoyment of the ecclesiastical possessions, and according to the former it had committed a betrayal of the Protestant Church since it had not provided for religious freedom for Protestants in the Austrian countries. But none was more bitterly reproached than the elector of Saxony, who was represented in public writings as a disloyal deserter, a traitor to religion and a fellow conspirator to the emperor.

Meanwhile he consoled himself with the triumph that a great part of the Lutheran princes found it necessary to accept this peace. The elector of Brandenburg, Duke Wilhelm of Weimar, the princes of Anhalt, the dukes of Mecklenburg and Brunswick-Lüneburg, the Hanse towns, and the majority of the imperial cities joined in it. Landgrave Wilhelm of Hesse seemed for a time undecided, or perhaps only pretended to be so in order gain time and to form his decision according to the

success of the peace. Sword in hand he had conquered fine territories in Westphalia from which he drew his best strength for the conduct of the war, all of which he was now, according to the terms of the peace, to give back. Duke Bernhard of Weimar, whose states as yet existed only on paper, did not come into consideration as one of the warring powers, but all the more so as a warring general, and in both capacities he could not do otherwise than emphatically reject the peace of Prague. All his wealth was his bravery, and in his sword lay all his countries. Only the war made him great and important, only the war could bring his ambitious schemes to maturity.

But among all who now raised their voices against the peace of Prague the Swedes declared themselves with the greatest vehemence, and they had good cause for doing so. Called to Germany by the Germans themselves, rescuers of the Protestant Church and of the princes which they had bought with so much blood and with the sacred life of their king, they suddenly saw themselves ignominiously forsaken and disappointed in their plans; without reward, without gratitude, ordered out of the empire for which they were bleeding and exposed to the scorn of the very princes who were indebted to them for everything. Not a single word in the peace compact spoke of satisfaction, or compensation for their expenditures, equivalent to the

conquests which they were supposed to give up. More empty-handed than when they had arrived, they were now to be dismissed, and if they objected they would be driven out of Germany by the same hands that had beckoned them thither. Finally the elector of Saxony suggested a word of compensation which was to consist of money to the small sum of one and a half million florins. The Swedes had expended far more of their own funds and such a shameful offer naturally offended their ambition and their pride.

"The electors of Bavaria and Saxony," answered Oxenstierna, "paid themselves for the assistance which they gave to the emperor and which they owed him as vassals, with important provinces, and we Swedes, who have given our king for Germany, they propose to send home with the paltry sum of one and a half million florins!" They were grievously disappointed, for they had reckoned upon Pomerania, whose ruler at that time was an aged man and had no heirs. But the reversion of this country had been assured to the elector of Brandenburg and all the neighboring powers were opposed to the settling of the Swedes on these frontiers.

Never in the whole war had things looked more serious for the Swedish cause than in 1635, immediately after the proclamation of the Prague peace. Many of their allies, especially among the imperial cities, quit their party with a view of

joining in the benefits of the peace, and others were forced to it by the victorious arms of the emperor. Augsbург, conquered through famine, surrendered under the harshest terms, Würzburg and Coburg fell to the Austrians, and the Heilbronn union was formally dissolved. Nearly the whole of Upper Germany, the chief seat of the Swedish power, recognized the sovereignty of the emperor. Saxony, basing herself upon the Prague peace, demanded the evacuation of Thuringia, Halberstadt and Magdeburg. The Austrians had taken Philippsburg, the garrison of the French, by surprise with all the supplies which had been stored up in this place, and this serious loss had weakened the activity of France. To make the distress of the Swedes complete, the armistice with Poland expired about this time. To wage war simultaneously in Poland and in the German empire was by far beyond the strength of the Swedes, and they had to choose which of the two enemies they would prefer to combat. Pride and ambition decided for the continuation of the German war whatever sacrifice it might cost in the case of Poland; but anyway it required a Swedish army to force the respect of the Poles, and to maintain its freedom in the negotiations for an armistice or peace.

Oxenstierna, whose mind seemed inexhaustible in resources, was not yet beaten and his keen intellect taught him even to turn the adversities into

advantages for himself. The desertion of so many German rulers from the Swedish party deprived him of a large part of his allies, but on the other hand, it also exempted him from all consideration for them, and the greater the number of his enemies became, the more countries could be overrun by his armies, and the more supplies were open to him. The rank ingratitude of the princes and the supreme contempt with which the emperor treated him (not deeming him even worthy of taking part in the discussion of peace) gave him the courage of despair and a determination to drive matters to the utmost. No war, however disastrous, could make the embarrassment of the Swedes worse than it was already and if forced to leave the German empire it was more honorable to do so sword in hand, and to succumb to force and not to fear.

In the deep distress which the Swedes suffered through the desertion of their allies they cast their glances first upon France, which met them halfway with most encouraging offers. The interests of the two crowns were closely united, and France would stand in her own light if she allowed the power of the Swedes in Germany to be destroyed. The absolute helplessness of the latter was, on the contrary, an invitation to establish closer relations with them and to take a more active share in the German war. Ever since the conclusion of the treaty of alliance with

the Swedes in Bärwalde, in 1631, France had antagonized the emperor through the forces of Gustavus Adolphus without an open and formal breach, assisting the latter only through her financial contributions and other activities. Alarmed, however, by the unexpectedly rapid and extraordinary success of the Swedish arms, she seemed to lose sight of her initial purpose to restore the balance of power which had been impaired by the superiority of the Swedes.

Now, however, she was seeking to protect the sovereign Catholic princes by neutrality agreements against the Swedish conqueror, and was already on the verge of arming herself against him when these attempts had failed. But no sooner had Gustavus Adolphus's death and the helplessness of the Swedes dispersed these fears, than she returned with renewed zeal to her previous scheme and gave the unfortunate Swedes the assistance in full measure of which she had deprived them in times of success. Free from the resistance which Gustavus Adolphus's ambition and vigilance opposed to her schemes of aggrandizement, she seized the favorable moment which the Nördlingen disaster offered to her to play the chief part in the war and to prescribe laws to those who were in need of her powerful protection.

The time and situation favored her bold plans and what before had only seemed a beautiful chimera could now be followed up as a well-considered aim

which was fully justified by the circumstances. She planned to devote her whole attention to the German war and as soon as she had secured her private aspirations by a treaty with the Germans, she appeared on the political stage as the acting and ruling power. While the warring powers exhausted themselves in a protracted struggle she had husbanded her resources and for ten years aided the war only with her money. Now, however, when the circumstances called for her action, she grasped the sword and spent her efforts in undertakings which astonished the whole of Europe.

She had two fleets cruising over the ocean, and sent out six different armies, while with her money she paid an appanage to one crown and several German princes. Revived by the hope of her mighty protection, the Swedes and the Germans rallied from their decline, and, sword in hand, set out to win a more honorable peace than that of Prague. Forsaken by their fellow princes, who had reconciled themselves with the emperor, they attached themselves all the more closely to France, who redoubled her efforts with their growing distress and took an ever increasing share in the struggle, although always in a secret manner, until at last she dropped the mask completely and declared war upon the emperor in her own name.

To give the Swedes a free hand against Austria, France began to liberate them from the Polish

war. Through Count d'Avaux, her ambassador, she induced both parties to prolong the armistice for 26 years in an agreement at Stuhmsdorf in Prussia, although not without a great loss for the Swedes who had to surrender nearly the whole of Polish Prussia, Gustavus Adolphus's great conquest, by a stroke of the pen. The Bärwalde agreement was renewed for an indefinite time with some alterations which circumstances necessitated, at first at Compiègne, and afterwards in Wismar and Hamburg. France had broken with Spain in May, 1635, and by the vigorous attack on this power deprived the emperor of his most important assistance from the Netherlands. Now France gave the Swedish arms on the Elbe and on the Danube greater freedom through the support of the Landgrave Wilhelm of Cassel and of Duke Bernhard of Weimar and compelled the emperor by a strong diversion on the Rhine to divide his forces.

The war was furiously renewed; the emperor had diminished the number of his opponents in Germany through the Prague peace, but at the same time increased the activity and zeal of his foreign enemies. He had acquired an unlimited influence in Germany, and with the exception of a few princes made himself master of the whole empire and its resources, so that from now on he could again act as the supreme lord and emperor. The first consequence of this was the

elevation of his son, Ferdinand III, to the Roman royal dignity, which, in spite of the opposition of Treves and of the Palatinate heirs, was established by a decisive majority vote. On the other hand, he had provoked the Swedes to a desperate defense, armed against himself the entire forces of France and drawn her into the domestic affairs of Germany. Both crowns with their German allies now operated as separated self-containing powers. The Swedes no longer need have any consideration since they did not fight for Germany, but for their own existence. They were swifter, more unrestricted and bolder now that they had no need to consult their German allies and to give an account of all their plans. The battles become more stubborn and more sanguine, but less decisive. Greater deeds of bravery and tactics were performed, but they were single actions which, not guided by a concerted plan, and not exploited by a leading spirit, had slight consequences for the entire party and little effect on the course of the war.

Saxony had pledged herself in the Prague peace to drive the Swedes out of Germany; from this time on the Saxon colors therefore were with the imperialists and two allies had changed to two implacable enemies. The territory of Magdeburg which the Prague peace conferred upon the Saxon prince was still in Swedish hands, and all attempts to induce a peaceable cession had been without suc-

cess. Hostilities began and the elector of Saxony opened them by recalling all Saxon subjects from Banner's army, which was camping on the Elbe.

The officers, exasperated by the non-payment of overdue wages, complied with this order and many evacuated their quarters. As at the same time the Saxons made a move against Mecklenburg to take Dömitz and to cut the enemy off from Pomerania and the shores of the Baltic, Banner hurriedly sent his forces there, relieved Dömitz and utterly defeated the Saxon general Baudissin with seven thousand men in a battle in which about a thousand were killed and as many made prisoners. Reënforced by the troops and the artillery which had hitherto stood in Polish Prussia and which was now available because of the Stuhmsdorf armistice, this brave and impetuous warrior broke into electoral Saxony in the following year (1636), where he gave full vent to his old hatred against the Saxons by the most cruel warfare. Provoked by the insults of long years which he and his Swedes had to suffer during their campaigns from the haughtiness of the Saxons and now infuriated by the desertion of the elector, they made his unfortunate subjects feel their fury and revenge.

Against Austrians and Bavarians the Swedish soldiers had fought more from a feeling of duty, but against the Saxons they fought with a personal hatred, detesting them as deserters and traitors,

and because the enmity between one-time friends who have become foes is usually the most implacable. The vigorous attacks launched against the emperor by the duke of Weimar and the landgrave of Hesse on the Rhine and in Westphalia prevented him from giving the Saxons adequate support and the electorate had to suffer dreadfully at the hands of Banner's raiding hordes. The elector added his army to the imperial general von Hatzfeld and advanced upon Magdeburg, which Banner vainly endeavored to relieve. Presently the united armies of the imperialists and the Saxons spread over Brandenburg, took many towns from the Swedes, and were about to drive them to the shores of the Baltic. But, contrary to all expectations, Banner, who was already given up as lost, attacked the allied armies on the 24th of September, 1636, at Wittstock and a great battle ensued. The assault was fearful and the whole force of the enemy fell upon the right flank of the Swedes, which Banner himself commanded.

Both sides fought with equal stubbornness, and among the Swedes there was not one squadron which had not charged ten times and been ten times repulsed. When finally Banner was forced to give way before superior numbers, his left flank continued the battle until nightfall and the Swedish reserves, which had not fought at all, were ready to renew the fight on the following morning.

However the elector of Saxony would not wait for the second attack. His army was exhausted from the struggle of the day before, and the footmen had departed with all the horses, so that the artillery could not be used. With General Hatzfeld he took to flight the same night and left the battle field in the possession of the Swedes. About 5,000 of the allies had fallen, not counting those who were slain by the pursuing Swedes or those who fell into the hands of the exasperated peasants; 150 banners and standards, 23 cannons, and the entire baggage, including the silver of the elector, were taken as booty, besides 2,000 men made prisoners. This brilliant victory, won over a far superior enemy, at once reëstablished the old respect for the Swedes; their enemies trembled and their friends were inspired with fresh courage. Banner used the good fortune which had favored him so decisively to hurry across the Elbe and drive the imperialists through Thuringia and Hesse to Westphalia; then he returned and took up his winter quarters on Saxon soil.

But without the aid which was given him through the activity of Duke Bernhard and the French on the Rhine it would have been difficult for him to win these glorious victories. Duke Bernhard, after the battle of Nördlingen, had assembled the remnants of his defeated army in the Wetterau, but deserted by the Heilbronn union which the Prague peace soon after this had broken up, and too weakly

supported by the Swedes, he saw himself unable to sustain the army and perform great deeds at the head of it. The Nördlingen defeat swallowed his duchy of Franconia, and the inability of the Swedes deprived him of all hope to make his fortune through this crown. At the same time, tired of the restraint which the peremptory demeanor of the Swedish chancellor imposed upon him, he bent his eyes on France, which could assist him with money, the only thing he was badly in need of, and which now showed her willingness to help him in that respect. Richelieu wished nothing more than to diminish the Swedish influence upon the German war and to play the leadership into his own hands under an assumed name. In order to attain this purpose he could not choose better means than to induce the best general of the Swedes to desert them, to attach him closely to the interest of France and assure himself of his aid in the execution of his schemes. France had nothing to fear from a prince like Bernhard who could not maintain himself without the support of a foreign power, since the greatest success was not sufficient to make him independent of this crown. Bernhard went to France himself and in October, 1635, made an agreement with Richelieu at St. Germain-en-Laye, no longer as a Swedish general but in his own name, by which he was granted an annual pension of one and a half million livres for himself and four

million for the support of an army which he was to command under royal orders. With a view to inspire his zeal all the more, and to accelerate the conquests of Alsatia through him, France did not hesitate to offer him in a secret article that province as a reward, a generosity which Richelieu had no intention of fulfilling and which the duke knew how to appreciate. But Bernhard trusted to his luck and to his arms and opposed deceit with pretense. If once he was powerful enough to snatch Alsatia from the enemy, he did not despair of the possibility of being able to hold it against a friend in extreme need. So, presently, with French money, he created for himself an army of his own under French sovereignty, but under his personal command, and without altogether breaking off his connections with the Swedes. He began his operations on the Rhine, where another French army led by Cardinal La Valette had already opened hostilities against the emperor in 1635.

Opposing the latter the Austrian main army, which had won the great victory at Nördlingen, after the subjugation of Suabia and Franconia, turned under the command of Gallas, and succeeded in pushing him back to Metz, freed the Rhine, and conquered the towns of Mainz and Frankenthal, which had been occupied by the Swedes. But the chief aim of this general—to establish his winter-quarters in France—was prevented by the active

resistance of the French, and he saw himself under the necessity of leading his troops back into exhausted Alsatia and Suabia.

But early in the following year he crossed the Rhine at Breisach and prepared to carry the war into France. He actually invaded the county of Burgundy, while the Spaniards from the Netherlands made successful progress in the Picardy, and Johann von Werth, a general of the League, undertook expeditions deep into the Champagne and terrified even Paris by his threatening approach. However, the bravery of the imperialists failed before an insignificant fortress in the Franche Comté and a second time they had to give up their plans.

The dependence upon a French general who did more honor to his priestly frock than to his commander's baton had hitherto hampered the active Duke Bernhard too much, and although he had conquered Alsatia-Zabern in unison with him, he had not been able to maintain himself on the Rhine during 1636 and 1637. The poor success of the French arms in the Netherlands had checked the operations in Alsatia and in Breisgau, but in 1638 the war took a much more favorable turn in those districts. Free from his fetters and unrestricted master over his troops, Duke Bernhard, in the beginning of February, left his winter-quarters in the bishopric of Basel and appeared contrary to all expectations on the Rhine, where the enemy never

dreamed of an attack at that season. The forest towns of Laufenburg, Waldshut and Seckingen were taken by assault and Rheinfelden was besieged. The imperial general Duke of Savelli, who commanded the district, was hurrying by forced marches to the relief of this important place, actually relieved it, and drove the Duke of Weimar back, but not without suffering great losses. Contrary to all human assumption the latter appeared on the third day (21st of February, 1638) in front of the imperialists, who were resting in fancied security from the efforts of their victory at Rheinfelden and defeated them in a battle in which the four imperial generals Savelli, Johann von Werth, Enkeford and Speereuter were made prisoners with 2,000 men. Two of them, Johann von Werth and von Enkeford, Richelieu subsequently took to France in order to flatter the vanity of the French people by the sight of such renowned generals and to palliate the public misery by an exhibition of the fruits of the victory. The captured banners and standards, which were brought in solemn procession to the church of Notre Dame, were waved three times in front of the altar, and placed in the custody of the sanctuary.

The occupation of Rheinfelden, Roeteln and Freiburg was the immediate consequence of Bernhard's victory. His army increased considerably and in the proportion as fortune favored him, his schemes expanded. The fortress of Breisach

on the Upper Rhine was considered as commanding the river and as the key to Alsatia. No place in those districts was more important to the emperor and upon no other had his generals spent so much care. To hold Breisach had been the paramount instruction to the Italian army under Fera. The strength of its fortifications and the advantage of its position defied every attack and the imperial generals who were commanding in these districts had the order to venture everything for the rescue of this place.

Trusting to his good fortune, Bernhard determined to attack the fortress. Impregnable against force, it could be conquered only by a famine, and the carelessness of its commander, who, not expecting the assault, had converted his accumulated stock of grain into cash, hastened this fate. As the fortress under these circumstances was not able to resist a long siege, the emperor had to hurry either to relieve or to supply it with provisions. The imperial general von Goetz advanced in great haste at the head of 12,000 men, accompanied by 3,000 wagons with supplies which he intended to throw into the town. Attacked, however, by Duke Bernhard near Witteweier, he lost his entire army corps except 3,000 men, and the whole of the supplies. A similar fate overtook the duke of Lorraine on the Ochsenfeld near Thann as he was advancing with about 6,000 men to the

relief of the fortress. After a third attempt of General von Goetz to rescue Breisach had failed, the fortress, decimated by disease and famine, after a siege of four months, surrendered on the 7th of December, 1638, to its persevering but humane and generous victor.

The conquest of Breisach opened an unlimited field to the ambitions of Duke Bernhard and now the romance of his hopes was assuming reality. Far from renouncing the fruit of his victories in favor of France, he determined to keep Breisach for himself and announced this decision in the allegiance which he demanded from the inhabitants in his own name without mentioning any other power. Intoxicated with his brilliant successes, and carried away by the proudest hopes, he thought he was sufficiently great and able to maintain the possessions gained even against France's will. At a time when everything could be had for bravery, when personal strength counted for something, and when armies and army leaders were esteemed higher than countries, a hero like Bernhard could trust in himself, and need not shrink from any undertaking at the head of an army which felt itself invincible under his command. With a view of obtaining a friend among the multitude of enemies whom he was now about to make, he cast his eyes at the Landgravine Amalia of Hesse, widow of the recently deceased Landgrave Wilhelm, a lady of as

much intellect as resolution who could grant, in addition to her hand, a valiant army, fine conquests and a fairly large principality. The addition of the conquests of the Hessians to his own on the Rhine, forming a single state, and the amalgamation of their armies would make a considerable factor and perhaps also create a third party in Germany, which would hold the decision of the war in its hands. However, death surprised him at Neuburg on the Rhine (in July, 1639) in his 36th year, and in the midst of his heroic career.

He died of a plague-like disease that had killed about four hundred people within two days in the camp. The black spots which broke out on his body, the utterings of the dying man, and the advantages which France would gain through his sudden death, aroused the suspicion that he was murdered by French poison, but the nature of his disease sufficiently refutes this assumption. In him the allies lost the greatest general whom they had possessed since Gustavus Adolphus, France a dangerous rival for Alsatia, and the emperor his most active enemy.

Trained in the school of Gustavus Adolphus to become a field-marshal and a hero, he emulated this exalted model, and only a longer life was needed to equal if not actually to excel it. With the bravery of the soldier he combined the cold and calm foresight of the field-marshal; with the per-

severing courage of the man, the quick resolution of the youth; with the wild fire of the warrior the dignity of the prince, the moderation of the wise and the conscientiousness of the man of honor. Unconquered by even the worst disaster, he raised his head after every, even the hardest blow; no obstacle could restrain his boldness, no failure vanquish his invincible courage. His mind was aspiring with a great ambition which was never to be gratified. Men of his kind live under different laws than those with which we are wont to measure the multitude, and, capable of accomplishing more than others, he could also form more daring plans. Bernhard looms in modern history as a fine example of those stormy times when personal greatness could achieve something, when bravery conquered countries, and when the virtues of a hero could lead a German knight even to the throne of the emperor.

The best part of his legacy was the army which he left together with the province of Alsatia to his brother Wilhelm. But upon this army Sweden and France believed they had rightful claims; the former because it had been enlisted in the name of their crown and had sworn allegiance to it, the latter because it was supported by their money. The electoral count-palatine also aspired after its possession, in order to employ it for the reconquest of his states, and he tried to draw it into his clutches, at

first through an agent and afterward through his own personal intervention. Even on the emperor's part an attempt was made to win this army for himself, at which we cannot be surprised, for this was a period when not the justice of a cause but only the price of the services rendered was the criterion, and bravery, like any merchandise, was sold to the highest bidder. So France, wealthier and more determined, outbid all her rivals. She bought General von Erlach, the commandant of Breisach, and the other heads who played into her hands, Breisach and the entire army. The young count-palatine Karl Ludwig, who some years earlier had undertaken an unsuccessful campaign against the emperor, saw his attempt fail here also. On the road to render France his nefarious service, he rashly determined to make his way through this country and foolishly attempted to travel incognito. To the cardinal, who feared the just cause of the count-palatine, any pretext for frustrating his plan was welcome; so he had him apprehended at Moulins in violation of all international law, and did not liberate him until the purchase of the Weimar troops was an accomplished fact.

Thus France saw herself in the possession of a considerable, well trained armed force in Germany, and it was not until then that she began to make war upon the emperor in her own name.

CHAPTER XIII

NEW SWEDISH VICTORIES

WHEN France finally decided to enter the great war it was no longer Ferdinand II against whom she rose as an open enemy. Death had already called him away from the scene of action in February, 1637, in his 59th year. The war which had been caused by his lust of power survived him. Never during his eighteen years' reign had the sword been out of his hand, never as long as he was wielding the scepter had he enjoyed the benefits of peace. Born with the talents of a good ruler, endowed with many virtues which are the foundation of a nation's happiness, gentle and humane by nature, we see him both as the tool and the victim of foreign passions fail in his charitable vocation from an evil-conceived notion of monarchical duty, and the friend of justice degenerate into an oppressor of humanity, an enemy of peace and the scourge of his people.

Of amiable disposition in private life, respected in his duties as a regent, and only of an evil repute so far as his politics were concerned, he united

upon his head the blessings of his Catholic subjects and the curses of the Protestant world. History knows of other and worse despots than Ferdinand II, but only one of them caused a Thirty Years' War. The ambitions of this particular despot unfortunately were filled with the germs of strife, which were destined to be followed by the most baneful consequences. In a more peaceable epoch this spark would have found no nourishment, and the calmness of the century would have stifled the ambition of the individual, but in his case the spark fell into long accumulated and easily inflammable fuel—and Europe burst into flame.

The son Ferdinand III, a few months before his father's death exalted to the dignity of a Roman king, inherited his thrones, his principles and his war. However, Ferdinand had seen the miseries of the nations and the devastation of the countries in close proximity, and felt the need of peace most intensely and ardently. Less dependent upon the Jesuits and the Spaniards, and fairer toward other religions, he was more inclined to listen to the voice of moderation than his father. He did listen to it, and gave Europe peace, but only after an eleven years' struggle with sword and pen, and not before all resistance had become futile and the compelling cry could no longer be unheeded.

Fortune favored the commencement of his reign,

and his armies were victorious against the Swedes. The latter, under Banner's vigorous leadership after the victory at Wittstock, had burdened Saxony with their winter-quarters, and opened the campaign of 1637 with the siege of Leipzig. The brave resistance of the garrison, however, and the approach of the united electoral-imperial armies saved this town, and Banner, to avoid being cut off from the Elbe, had to retreat upon Torgau. The superiority of the imperialists drove him from this place and, surrounded by hostile masses, checked by rivers and pursued by famine, he was compelled to carry out a perilous retreat to Pomerania, the boldness of which bordered upon the romantic. The entire army waded across the Oder at a shallow spot near Fürstenberg, and the soldiers, who were in the water to their necks, dragged the guns behind them as the horses refused to pull.

Banner reckoned upon finding his next-in-command, Wrangel, on the other side of the river, and, reënforced by this addition, meant to turn his front against the enemy. Wrangel did not appear and in his stead an imperial army had taken up positions near Landsberg to prevent the fleeing Swedes from retreating further. Banner discovered that he had fallen into a trap from which there seemed no escape. Behind him an exhausted country, the imperialists and the Oder; at his left the Oder, which, guarded by the imperial general Bucheim, could not

be crossed; in front of him Landsberg, Küstrin, the river Warthe and another hostile army; at his right Poland, which, despite the armistice, one could not quite trust—he saw himself lost unless some miracle happened, and his enemies were already triumphing over his inevitable fall.

Banner accused the French of being the instigators of this misfortune. They had failed to make the promised diversion on the Rhine and their inactivity permitted the emperor to use all his forces against the Swedes. "Should we and the Germans ever fight together against France," exclaimed the angry general to the French delegate who was following the Swedish army, "we should not make all this fuss before we were crossing the Rhine." Reproaches, however, were absolutely futile, and the pressing need demanded determination and action. In order to lure the enemy from the Oder, Banner pretended to escape through Poland; he actually sent the greatest part of the baggage ahead on that road and had his own wife and the wives of his officers follow this marching route. Immediately the imperialists advanced upon the Polish frontier to cut off his escape; Bucheim too gave up his position and the Oder was free. Banner turned quickly back toward the river in the darkness of the night and his troops with baggage and guns crossed about a mile to the north of Küstrin without bridges and without boats, as had been done at Fuerstenberg.

Without suffering any loss he reached Pomerania, the defense of which was divided between him and Hermann Wrangel.

But the imperialists under the command of Gallas penetrated near Tribsees into this duchy and overran it with their superior force. Usedom and Wolgast were conquered by storm, Demmin was taken by capitulation, and the Swedes were pushed far back into Lower Pomerania. At this time it was of greater importance than ever to maintain position in that country as Duke Bogisla XIV died in this year and the Swedish empire wished to lay claim to Pomerania. In order to prevent the elector of Brandenburg from making his claims valid on the basis of succession by inheritance and of the Prague peace, the Swedes now made the greatest possible effort, and vigorously supported their generals with money and soldiers. In other parts of the empire too they were gaining in prestige, and they began to shake off the accumulation of troubles under which they were burdened because of the inactivity of France and the desertion of their allies. For after their hurried retreat to Pomerania they had lost one place after another in Upper Saxony. The Mecklenburg princes, pressed back by the enemy, began to lean toward the Austrian side and even Georg of Lüneburg declared himself hostile to Sweden. Ehrenbreitstein, conquered by starvation, opened its gates to the Bavarian general von Werth.

and the Austrians took possession of all intrenchments erected on the Rhine. France had been losing to the Spaniards, and the result did not fulfill the boastful expectations with which it had opened the war against Spain. Everything that the Swedes had had in their possession in the interior of Germany was lost, and they were only holding the chief places in Pomerania. A single campaign relieved them of their difficulties, and the mighty diversion which the victorious Bernhard caused the imperial forces on the banks of the Rhine gave a different turn to the whole course of the war.

The differences between France and Sweden had at last been settled and the old treaty between the two crowns was confirmed at Hamburg with new advantages for the Swedes. In Hesse the diplomatic countess Amalia assumed the government after the death of her husband Wilhelm, with the consent of the estates, and maintained her right with great resoluteness against the opposition of the emperor and of the Darmstadt line. Zealously devoted to the Swedish-Protestant party because of religious principles, she was only waiting for the favorable opportunity to declare herself openly and actively for it. In the meantime by a wise reserve and cunningly worded treaties, she succeeded in holding the emperor inactive until her secret alliance with France had been concluded and Bernhard's victories gave a favorable turn to the affairs of

the Protestants. Then she suddenly dropped the mask and renewed her old friendship with the Swedish crown. Bernhard's triumphs also encouraged the electoral count of the Palatinate to try his fortune against the common enemy. With English money he enlisted troops in Holland, erected an arsenal in Meppen, and united in Westphalia with Swedish troops. However, his arsenal was lost, and his army beaten by Count Hatzfeld near Vlotho; still, his enterprise had kept the enemy busy for a time and facilitated the operations of the Swedes in other places. Many of their friends too took heart as soon as fortune smiled upon them and it was their gain when the Lower Saxon princes declared their neutrality.

Favored by these important advantages and reënforced by 14,000 fresh troops from Sweden and Livonia, Banner opened the campaign of 1638 full of hope. The imperialists having occupied Upper Pomerania and Mecklenburg quit their positions or flocked in crowds to the colors of the Swedish army to escape hunger, their grimmest enemy in those looted and impoverished districts. The previous passages of troops and their camping had so devastated the whole country between the rivers Elbe and Oder that Banner, in order to break into Saxony without being forced to starve with his army, had to make a detour from Lower Pomerania by way of Lower Saxony, whence he could advance

through the Halberstadt district into electoral Saxony. The impatience of the Lower Saxon states to rid themselves of such a hungry guest as quickly as possible led them to provide him with the necessary supplies so that he had bread for his army in Magdeburg, in a country where hunger had actually overcome the repulsion against human flesh as food.

He frightened Saxony by his devastating arrival, but his intention was not directed upon this exhausted country, but upon the imperial patrimonial dominions. Bernhard's victories had raised his courage, and the wealthy provinces of the Austrian house tempted his rapacity. After he had defeated the imperial general von Salis near Elsterberg, routed the Saxon army near Chemitz, and conquered Pirna, he penetrated into Bohemia with irresistible force, crossed the Elbe, threatened Prague, took Brandeis and Letmeritz, beat General von Hofkirchen with ten regiments, and spread terror and devastation through the whole of the undefended kingdom. Everything that could be moved was taken as booty, and all that could not be consumed on the spot or used was destroyed. With the idea of carrying off as much corn as possible the ears were cut from the stalks and the rest was left to perish. Over a thousand castles, villages and hamlets were laid in ashes, and often one could see a hundred of them go up in flames in one night.

From Bohemia he undertook expeditions into Silesia, and even Moravia and Austria had to suffer from his raiding. To check this Count Hatzfeld hurried from Westphalia and Piccolomini from the Netherlands. Archduke Leopold, a brother of the emperor, received the commander's baton to repair the blunders of his predecessor Gallas, and to raise the army out of its deep deterioration.

The result justified the change and the campaign of the year 1640 seemed to take an unfortunate turn for the Swedes. They were driven from one quarter after another in Bohemia, and, only endeavoring to bring their booty into safety, they retreated over the mountains of Meisen. Pursued by the enemy through Saxony, and repulsed near Plauen, they had to take refuge in Thuringia.

Made masters of the field in a single summer, they dropped as quickly to their weakest state again only to rise up once more, thus hurrying in rapid alternation from one extreme to another. Banner's weakened forces, near their destruction in the camp of Erfurt, suddenly rallied again. The dukes of Lüneburg quit the Prague peace, and reënforced him with the same troops that fought against him a few years before. Hesse sent assistance and the duke of Longueville brought with him the army which Duke Bernhard had left behind. Superior in forces again, Banner offered battle to the imperialists at Saalfeld, but their leader

Piccolomini wisely avoided it, selecting too good a position to be dislodged. When at last the Bavarians separated from the imperialists, and directed their march toward Franconia, Banner attempted an attack upon the detached corps, which however was frustrated by the cleverness of the Bavarian leader, von Mercy, and the rapid approach of the imperial main army. Presently both armies retired into exhausted Hesse, where they shut themselves up in fortified camps, not far from one another, until finally want of food and the rough season drove them out of the impoverished district. Piccolomini chose for his winter-quarters the rich pastures of the Weser, but, overtaken by Banner, he had to leave them to the Swedes, and troubled the Franconian bishoprics with his visit.

About this time a diet was in session at Regensburg, where the complaints of the princes were heard, the pacification of the empire discussed and a resolution made regarding war and peace. The presence of the emperor, who was presiding in the collegium of princes, the majority of the Catholic votes in the council of electors, the preponderance of bishops, and the absence of several Protestant votes, conducted the debate to the advantage of the emperor, and the diet was far from actually representing the empire. Not quite without justification the Protestants regarded it as a living conspiracy of Austria and her creatures against the

Protestant party, and in their eyes it seemed to be a merit to disturb the diet or dissolve it by force.

Banner had designed this daring plan. The glory of his arms had faded because of his last retreat from Bohemia and it needed some brilliant feat to restore its former splendor. Without informing anyone of his plan, he left his quarters in Lüneburg in the severest cold of the year of 1641, as soon as the roads and rivers were frozen hard. Accompanied by the field-marshal De Guebriant, who commanded the French and Weimar armies, he directed his march through Thuringia and the Vogtland to the Danube and appeared opposite Regensburg before the diet could be warned of his approach. The consternation of the assembled princes was indescribable and in the first excitement all the delegates prepared to flee. Only the emperor declared that he was not going to leave the town and by his example inspired the others. To the misfortune of the Swedes a thaw set in, melting the ice on the Danube, which was absolutely impassable by boat on account of the strong drift of ice. In order to do something, and to wound the pride of the German emperor, Banner committed the indiscretion of bombarding the town with 500 shots, which, however, did not do a great deal of harm.

Disappointed in this enterprise, he resolved at last to penetrate deeper into Bavaria and undefended Moravia, where rich booty and comfort-

able winter-quarters were awaiting his needy soldiers. Nothing, however, could induce the French general to follow him thither. Guebriant feared that it was the intention of the Swedes to move the Weimar army still farther from the Rhine, and to cut off all communication with France until they had either brought it entirely to their side or at least made it unable to undertake anything on its own account. He, therefore, separated from Banner and returned to the river Main. Banner saw himself suddenly exposed to the whole of the imperial force, which, quietly assembled between Regensburg and Ingolstadt, was advancing against him. The question then was to decide upon a quick retreat, which, in sight of an army that was superior in cavalry, between rivers and forests in a country thoroughly hostile to him, seemed hardly possible of accomplishment. He hurriedly retired to the forest to escape by way of Bohemia to Saxony, but had to leave three regiments to their fate at Neuburg. The latter held the hostile forces at bay with Spartan heroism for four days from behind a dilapidated wall, in order that Banner should get a start. He escaped through Eger to Annaberg; Piccolomini however pursued him by a shorter route by way of Schlackenwald and it only depended upon the advantage of a short half hour that the imperialists did not forestall him on the highway to Priesnitz and destroy the entire Swedish force. At Zwickau

Guebriant again united with Banner's army, and both directed their march to Halberstadt after they had vainly attempted to defend the river Saale and bar the crossing of the Austrians.

In Halberstadt, Banner (May, 1641) reached the end of his career, killed by no other poison than that of intemperance and chagrin. With great fame, although with varying success, he had maintained the prestige of the Swedish arms in Germany, and through a long chain of victories proved himself worthy of his great master in the art of warfare. He was rich in designs, which he always kept very secret, and carried out with great swiftness; calm in danger, greater in adversity than in good fortune, and never more formidable than when he was thought to be on the verge of his doom. However the virtues of the warlike hero were combined in him with all the moral defects and vices which are engendered by the military vocation or at least promoted by it. Equally masterful in his private intercourse as before the front,—rough like his trade and proud like a conqueror, he oppressed the German princes no less by his arrogance than their countries through his extortions. For the hardships of the war he sought compensation in culinary enjoyments and in debauchery, in which he indulged to excess and for which he finally paid by an untimely death. But lustful like an Alexander and a Mohammed II, he plunged with the same ease out

of his revelries into the strenuous work of war, and towered in his greatness as a field-marshal when his army found fault with a weakling. About 80,000 men had fallen in the numerous battles which he had fought, and some 600 hostile banners and standards which he had sent to Stockholm testified to his victories.

The loss of this leader was soon sorely felt by the Swedes, and it was feared that he could not be replaced. The spirit of revolt and unrestraint, held in check by the great prestige of Banner, flamed anew as soon as he was gone. The officers clamored for their overdue wages and none of the four generals who divided the command among themselves had enough power to pacify or silence the impetuous troublemakers. Discipline relaxed, the increasing want and the imperial letters of recall depleted the army from day to day, the French-Weimarian troops showed little zeal, the Lüneburgers deserted the Swedish colors, for the princes of the House of Brunswick had made an agreement with the emperor after the death of Duke Georg, and, finally, the Hessians separated from them in order to find better quarters in Westphalia.

The enemy exploited this baneful interregnum and although defeated in two actions succeeded in making considerable progress in Lower Saxony.

At last the newly appointed Swedish generalissimo appeared with fresh money and soldiers. It

was Bernhard Torstenson, a pupil of Gustavus Adolphus and a most fortunate choice as successor of that hero whom he had served as a page in the Polish war. Disabled by gout and confined to his sedan chair, he conquered all his opponents through swiftness, and his enterprises had wings while his body was held in the terrible grip of the painful disease. Under him the scene of action experienced a change, and new maxims ruled which necessity demanded and success justified. All the countries for which he had hitherto fought were exhausted, and safe in its remotest lands the House of Austria did not feel the misery of the war under which the whole of Germany was bleeding. Torstenson was the first to give it this bitter experience; he fed his Swedes at the rich table of Austria, and threw the firebrand at the throne of the emperor.

In Silesia the enemy had gained considerable advantages over the Swedish leader Stalhantsch and driven him back to Neumark. Torstenson, who had united with the Swedish main army in the Lüneburg district, drew his troops to him, and broke suddenly into Silesia in the year 1642 through Brandenburg, which had begun to observe an armed neutrality under the Great Elector. Glogau was taken without any preliminaries, without making any breach, sword in hand; Duke Franz Albrecht of Lauenburg beaten near Schweidnitz and shot to

death himself, and Schweidnitz, as well as the whole of Silesia situated on this side of the Oder, were conquered. Presently he penetrated with irresistible force into the interior of Moravia, where no enemy of the House of Austria had yet set foot, took possession of the town of Olmütz, and made even the imperial capital tremble. In the meantime Piccolomini and Archduke Leopold had assembled a superior force which drove the Swedish conqueror out of Moravia, and soon also, after a vain attempt upon Brieg, out of Silesia. Reënforced by Wrangel, he ventured again to resist the superior enemy, and relieved Gross-Glogau, but he could neither induce the enemy to give battle nor carry out his intention against Bohemia. Presently he overran the Lausitz, where he took Zittau in the face of the enemy, and after a short stay directed his march through Meissen to the Elbe, which he crossed near Torgau. Then he threatened Leipzig with a siege and planned to raise a contribution in that wealthy town which had been spared for ten years.

The imperialists under Piccolomini and Leopold hurried to the relief of this town by way of Dresden, and Torstenson, not to be shut in between the army and the walls of the city, courageously advanced against them in full battle array. By a wonderful cycle of recurrent changes they met again on the same ground that Gustavus Adolphus had made famous through a decisive victory eleven

years before, and the heroic virtues of the ancestors inspired their descendants to a noble struggle on that sacred soil. The Swedish generals Stahlhantsch and Willenberg threw themselves upon the left wing of the Austrians, which had not been fully placed in position, with such impetuosity that the whole cavalry covering it was run down and made useless for the battle. The left flank of the Swedes was threatened with a similar fate until the victorious right came to its assistance, fell upon the rear and the flanks of the enemy, and shattered his lines. The infantry of both armies stood like a wall, and defended themselves when all powder had been used, with their clubbed muskets, until at last the imperialists, surrounded on all sides, had to give way after a three hours' hot fight. The leaders of both armies had done their utmost to check their fleeing soldiers, and Archduke Leopold with his regiment was the first in attack and the last in flight. Over 3,000 men and two of their best generals, Schlangen and Lilienhoek, were the cost of this victory to the Swedes.

Of the imperialists 5,000 men were stretched dead on the battle field, and nearly as many more were made prisoners. Their entire artillery of 46 cannons, the silver service of the archduke, and the whole baggage of the army fell into the hands of the victor. Torstenson, weakened

too much through this victory to be able to pursue the enemy, advanced upon Leipzig, and the defeated army turned to Bohemia, where the fleeing regiments rallied again. Archduke Leopold could not recover from the disappointment of this defeat, and the cavalry regiment which had started the confusion by its untimely flight experienced the effects of his rage. At Rakonitz in Bohemia, in the face of all the assembled troops, he declared it dishonored, deprived it of all horses, arms and insignia, had its standards torn to pieces, and several officers and of the privates every tenth man were condemned to death.

Leipzig, which was conquered three weeks after the battle, was the finest booty of the victor. The town had to clothe the entire Swedish army, and redeem itself from looting by three tons of gold, for which also the foreign warehouses that had their stock in the town were burdened with taxes. Torstenson advanced while it was still winter, upon Freiberg, defied the inclemency of the season for several weeks and hoped to tire out the courage of the besieged by his perseverance. But he was only sacrificing his troops and the approach of the imperial general Piccolomini forced him to retreat with his weakened army. Still he deemed it a gain that the enemy had also been compelled to forego the rest of the winter-quarters, of which he deprived himself voluntarily, losing over three

thousand horses in this unsuccessful winter campaign.

He now made a move against the Oder in order to reënforce himself with the garrisons from Pomerania and Silesia; but with marvelous speed he again reached the Bohemian frontier, marched through that kingdom, and relieved Olmütz in Moravia, which was hard pressed by the imperialists. From his camp at Tobitschau, two miles from Olmütz, he commanded the whole of Moravia, oppressed it with heavy war contributions and had his soldiers make expeditions up to the bridges of Vienna. In vain the emperor endeavored to arm the Hungarian nobility for the defense of this province; the latter fell back on their privileges and refused to serve outside of their native country. Over these futile negotiations much time for an active resistance was lost and the entire province of Moravia became a prey to the Swedes.

CHAPTER XIV

THE END OF THE LONG WAR

WHILE Bernhard Torstenson astonished friend and foe by his marches and victories, the armies of the allies had not been inactive in other parts of the empire. The Hessians and Weimarians under Count von Eberstein and Guebriant had invaded the territory of Cologne in order to take up their winter-quarters in these districts. With a view of getting rid of the robbing hordes the elector called upon the imperial general von Hatzfeld for assistance, and assembled his own troops under General Lamboy. The latter was attacked by the allies near Kempen (January, 1642) and defeated in a great battle, in which 2,900 were killed and as many made prisoners. This important victory opened to them the entire electorate and the adjoining territories, so that they not only could maintain their winter-quarters in them, but also draw considerable reënforcements from them in soldiers and horses.

Guebriant left the Hessians to defend their conquests on the Lower Rhine against Count Hatz-

feld, and advanced toward Thuringia to support Torstenson's undertakings in Saxony. But, instead of uniting his forces with those of the Swedes, he hurried back to the rivers Main and Rhine, from which he had moved farther than he was supposed to go. As the Bavarians under Mercy and Johann von Werth had forestalled him in Baden, he was wandering aimlessly about, exposed to the roughness of the weather without being able to secure comfortable quarters, and had to camp in the snow until he found a poor shelter in the Breisgau. He showed himself again in the field the following summer, and kept the Bavarian army busy in Suabia, so that it could not come to the relief of Thionville in the Netherlands, which was beleaguered by Condé. Soon, however, he was pushed back by the superior enemy into Alsatia, where he expected reënforcements.

The death of Cardinal Richelieu, which had taken place in November, 1642, the succession to the throne and the ministerial change which was consequent upon the death of Louis XIII in May, 1643, had diverted the attention of France for a time from the German war and caused inactivity in the field. But Mazarin, the heir to Richelieu's power, principles and schemes, pursued the plans of his predecessor with renewed zeal, however dearly the French subject had to pay for the political greatness of France. If Richelieu used the main force

of the armies against Spain, Mazarin turned it against the emperor, and through the care which he bestowed upon the war matters in Germany he verified his maxim that the German army was the right arm of his king and the bulwark of the French states. Immediately after the occupation of Thionville he sent a considerable reënforcement to Alsatia to Field-marshal Guebriant, and in order that these troops might subject themselves all the more willingly to the hardships of the German war, the famous victor of Rocroy, Duke of Enghien, afterward Prince of Condé, led them thither in person. Guebriant now felt himself strong enough to appear again with honor in Germany. He hurried back across the Rhine to select better winter-quarters in Suabia, and actually made himself master of Rottweil where a Bavarian arsenal fell into his hands. Nevertheless, the place cost far more than it was worth, and was lost more quickly than it had been won. Guebriant received a wound in his arm which was rendered fatal by the clumsiness of his surgeon, and the greatness of his loss became evident on the same day.

The French army, considerably depleted through an expedition in such a rough season, had retired after the occupation of Rottweil into the district of Tuttlingen where it rested in absolute security without the slightest fear of a hostile attack. Meanwhile the enemy was assembling a great force

to prevent a gathering of the French on the other side of the Rhine in such close proximity to Bavaria and to free that territory from its oppressions. The imperialists, led by Hatzfeld, united with the Bavarians, who were commanded by Mercy, and also the duke of Lorraine, whom one could find anywhere in this war except in his own duchy, combined his army with their colors. It was decided to undertake a surprise raid upon the quarters of the French in Tuttlingen and the surrounding villages, which was a favorite sort of expedition in this war and was always followed by confusion which cost more blood than a regular battle. In the present case it was the more advisable since the French soldier, inexperienced in this kind of enterprise, had different notions of a German winter and thought himself sufficiently protected against an unexpected assault by the severity of the climate. Johann von Werth, a master in this species of warfare, who had been exchanged some time before for Gustavus Horn, was the leader of the expedition and he achieved a success which surpassed all expectations.

He launched the attack from a side where he was least expected because of the many narrow defiles and the wooded country, and a heavy snow which fell on that day (24th of November, 1643) concealed the approach of the vanguard until it halted in the face of Tuttlingen. The whole

of the artillery standing forsaken outside the town and the closely situated castle Honburg were captured without resistance, the whole of Tuttlingen was surrounded by the approaching main army and all communication with the hostile quarters in the neighboring villages was cut off quietly and quickly. The French were actually beaten before a single shot was fired. The cavalry had to thank the swiftness of the horses for their salvation and the few minutes which they had secured in advance of the pursuing enemy. The infantry was either sabred or surrendered voluntarily; about 2,000 were killed and 7,000 captured, with 25 staff officers and 90 captains. This was probably the only action in the whole of the war in which an equal impression was made both on the winning and the losing party; both were Germans and the French had disgraced themselves. The memory of this fateful day, which a hundred years later was repeated at Rossbach, was subsequently effaced by the heroic deeds of a Turenne, Condé and Napoléon, but the Germans could not be blamed if they struck back at the French with a street song concerning French bravery, and the misery which French politics had heaped upon them.

However, this defeat of the French might have proved fatal to the Swedes, for presently the whole power of the emperor was launched against them and the number of their enemies had by this time

greatly increased. Torstenson had suddenly left Moravia in September, 1643, and turned to Silesia. Nobody knew the reason for this movement and the frequently altered direction of his marching route contributed to the uncertainty. From Silesia he approached the Elbe with many deviations and the imperialists followed him into the Lausitz. He had a bridge constructed over the river near Torgau and spread the rumor that he intended to penetrate through Meissen into the Upper Palatinate and Bavaria. At Barby he acted as if he was going to cross the river, but continued marching further down the Elbe until he came to Havelberg, where he announced to his surprised army that he was leading them to Holstein against the Danes.

The bias which King Christian IV had shown against the Swedes in his rôle as mediator, the jealousy which he displayed of the progress of their arms, the obstacles which he placed in the way of the Swedish boat traffic in the Sound and the burden which he imposed upon their flourishing trade had for a long time provoked the indignation of the Swedes, and finally, when the offenses continued to increase, challenged their resentment. However venturesome it seemed to engage in a new war while almost weighed down by the burden of the old one, even in the midst of victories, the desire for revenge and a perennial national hatred raised the courage of the Swedes above all doubts, and the

embarrassments in which they found themselves because of the war in Germany was an additional motive to try their luck against Denmark.

It had come to such a pass that one continued the war only to give the armies work and support, and one was fighting merely for the advantage of winter-quarters and deemed the fact that the armies were housed in adequate shelters superior to a victorious battle. Nearly all the provinces of the German empire lay desolate and drained of its resources; there was a want of provision, horses and men and Holstein had an abundance of everything. If one did not gain any more than recruits for the army in that province, fed the soldiers and the horses, and got better mounts for the cavalry, the success justified the effort and the risk was worth the attempt.

In addition to this, everything depended upon checking the nefarious Danish influence when the peace negotiations were opened; to delay any peace which did not seem to favor the Swedish crown, through the confusion of various interests, and, since the question was also to fix an indemnity, to increase the number of conquests with an idea of obtaining the one which they most desired. The poor condition of the Danish kingdom justified even greater hopes if the plan was only executed swiftly and silently. The secret was kept so well in Stockholm that the Danish ministers did not have

the least suspicion and neither France nor Holland had been drawn into the affair. The war itself was the declaration of it and Torstenson was in Holstein before Denmark had a suspicion of hostilities. Unchecked by any resistance, the Swedish troops poured like a flood into this duchy and took possession of all its fortified places except Rendsburg and Glückstadt. A second army broke into Schonen which likewise offered little resistance and only the stormy season prevented the leaders from crossing the Little Belt and carrying the war into Fühnen and Seeland. The Danish fleet came to grief near Femern and King Christian, who was on one of the ships, lost his right eye through a splinter. Cut off from the distant forces of the emperor, his ally, this king was about to see his entire realm flooded by the Swedish forces and it looked like the fulfillment of the prediction, made it is said by the famous Tycho Brahe, that Christian IV, in the year of 1644, would have to wander out of his kingdom carrying nothing but a stick.

However the emperor could not look with indifference upon Denmark as being sacrificed to the Swedes, nor upon the fact that the robbing of this kingdom increased their power. However great the difficulties which opposed so distant a march through impoverished countries, he did not hesitate to send Count Gallas, who was en-

trusted again with the supreme command after the resignation of Piccolomini, with an army to Holstein. Gallas actually appeared in that duchy, conquered Kiel and hoped, after having united with the Danes, to surround the Swedish army in Jütland.

At the same time the Hessians and the Swedish general, von Königsmark, were kept busy by Hatzfeld and by the Archbishop of Bremen, the son of Christian IV, and the latter was drawn to Saxony by an attack upon Meissen. But Torstenson penetrated through the unoccupied pass between Schleswig and Stapelholm, advanced with his newly strengthened army against Gallas and pushed him up the whole length of the river Elbe to Bernburg, where the imperialists occupied a fortified camp. Torstenson crossed the Saale and placed himself in such a position that he commanded the rear of the enemy and cut them off from Saxony and Bohemia.

A famine attacked the camp of Gallas and destroyed the greatest part of his army, and the retreat to Magdeburg did not alter this desperate plight. The cavalry, which tried to escape to Silesia, was overtaken by Torstenson near Jüterbock and dispersed, while the remainder of the army, after a futile attempt to break through, was almost annihilated near Magdeburg. Gallas brought back only a few thousand men together with the reputation that no greater master could be found to ruin an army. After the attempt to liberate him had failed, the

king of Denmark pleaded for peace, which was granted at Brømsebro in 1645 under harsh terms.

Torstenson pursued his victory. While one of his commanders, Axel Lilienstern, was worrying Electoral Saxony, and Königsmark subjugated the whole of Bremen, he broke into Bohemia at the head of 16,000 men with 80 cannon and strove again to carry the war into the hereditary states of Austria. At this news Ferdinand personally hastened to Prague to inspire the courage of his people by his presence, and, as there was dire need of an able general, and no harmony among the numerous commanders, devoted himself to active work with all possible vigor near the actual scene of warfare. At his command, Hatzfeld assembled the whole of the Austrian and Bavarian forces and opposed them—the last army of the emperor and the last bulwark of his states—contrary to his will and advice, to the advancing enemy near Jankau or Jankowitz on the 24th of February, 1645. Ferdinand relied upon his cavalry which counted 3,000 horses more than that of the enemy and upon the covenant of the Holy Virgin Mary, who had appeared to him in a dream and promised victory.

The superiority of the imperialists did not intimidate Torstenson, who never was in the habit of counting the troops of his enemy. Immediately on the first attack the left wing, which the League general von Goetz had placed in a very precarious

position among woods and lakes, was thrown into confusion; the leader himself with the greater part of the soldiers was slain and nearly the whole of the ammunition taken as booty. This disastrous beginning decided the fate of the whole battle. The Swedes, advancing continually, took the most important hills, and after an eight-hour bloody struggle, a furious charge of the imperial cavalry, and the bravest resistance of the infantry, they became masters of the battle field. There were 2,000 Austrians killed and Hatzfeld himself had to surrender with 3,000 men as prisoners. Thus the best general and the last army of the emperor were lost in a single day.

This decisive victory at Jankowitz suddenly laid all the Austrian states open to the enemy. Ferdinand hurriedly fled to Vienna to prepare for the defense of his capital and to place himself, his family and his treasures in safety. Nor was it long before the victorious Swedes broke into Moravia and Austria like a flood. After they had conquered nearly the whole of the former province, surrounded Brünn, taken possession of all the fortified castles and towns to the Danube and even climbed the intrenchments at the Wolfsbrücke, not far from Vienna, they were at last in sight of the imperial town. The care with which they fortified the conquered places did not seem to indicate a short visit only. After a long laborious detour

through all the provinces of the German empire the stream of war finally turned backward to where it started and the report of the Swedish guns reminded the inhabitants of Vienna of those bullets which the Bohemian rebels fired into the imperial castle twenty-seven years before. The same crisis also recalled the identical instruments of attack. As Bethlen Gabor was asked by the rebellious Bohemians, so now Ragotzy was besought by Torstenson for assistance; already Upper Hungary was overrun by his troops and there was imminent danger of a union with the Swedes. Johann Georg of Saxony, driven to desperation by the annoyance of the Swedish quarters in his country, and left helpless by the emperor, who, after the Jankau battle, was unable to protect himself, finally seized the last and only remedy: to conclude an armistice with the Swedes, which was prolonged from one year to another until the final conclusion of peace. The emperor lost a friend while at the gates of his empire a new enemy arose against him, and his armies were melting away and his allies defeated in other parts of Germany. The French army had wiped out the disgrace of the defeat at Tuttlingen by a brilliant campaign and kept the entire force of the Bavarians occupied in Suabia and on the Rhine. Reënforced by fresh troops from France which the great Turenne, already famous for his victories in

Italy, was leading to the duke of Enghien, they appeared on the 3d of August, 1644, before Freiburg, which shortly before had been conquered by Mercy and which the latter was covering with his entire army in strong intrenchments. The impetuosity of the French failed against the steadfastness of the Bavarians and the duke of Enghien had to decide upon a retreat after he had sacrificed about 6,000 of his men for nothing. Mazarin shed tears over this great loss, which the heartless Condé, who was susceptible only to fame, did not consider at all. "One single night in Paris," he was heard to say, "gives life to more men than this action has killed." Meanwhile this murderous battle had weakened the Bavarians so much that they, far from relieving distressed Austria, were not even able to defend the banks of the Rhine. Speyer, Worms and Mannheim surrendered, the stronghold Philipsburg succumbed for want of food, and even Mainz submitted to the victor.

What had saved Austria and Moravia in the beginning of the war now saved them from Torstenson. Ragotzy had, as a matter of fact, advanced with his troops, 25,000 in number, to the Danube, close to the Swedish forces, but his undisciplined, raw hordes only devastated the country and increased the need in camp instead of promoting the enterprises of Torstenson by an efficient coöperation. To frighten the emperor into paying

tribute and the inhabitants into giving up their money and chattels, was the purpose which Ragotzy, like Bethlen Gabor, called into play, and both went home again as soon as they had accomplished their aim. Ferdinand, to get rid of him, granted the barbarian whatever he asked, and through a small sacrifice freed his states from the formidable army.

In the meantime the main force of Swedes had much weakened itself by a protracted siege of Brünn. Torstenson, who was personally in command, exhausted all his resources in vain for four months; the resistance was equal to the attack and despair raised the courage of the commandant De Souches, a Swedish deserter who could not hope for pardon. The fearful epidemics caused by lack of proper food, uncleanness and the consumption of unripe fruit, and the hurried departure of Ragotzy finally compelled the Swedish leader to suspend the siege. Since however all passes on the Danube were occupied and his army had been seriously depleted by disease and famine, he gave up his enterprise in Austria and Moravia, contented himself with securing the keys to both provinces through garrisons in the castles he had conquered, and made his way to Bohemia where the imperialists followed him under Archduke Leopold. Whichever of the lost places had not yet been reconquered by the latter, were forced after his departure by the imperial general Bucheim, so that the Austrian

frontiers were cleared of enemies in the following year, and trembling Vienna had suffered nothing except the shock.

In Bohemia and Silesia the Swedes were able to maintain themselves only spasmodically. If the results of Torstenson's undertakings did not quite fulfill their promising beginning, they had none the less the most decisive consequences for the Swedish party. Through them, Denmark was forced to make peace, Saxony to conclude an armistice, and the emperor was made more obliging at the peace conclusion, France more conciliatory, and Sweden herself more confident and bolder in her attitude toward the other crowns. Discharged with glory of his great duties, the originator of all these advantages, adorned with laurels, retired into the seclusion of his private life to seek relief from the tortures of his affliction.

After Torstenson's departure the emperor saw himself safe against a hostile invasion from Bohemia; soon, however, a new danger threatened the Austrian frontiers from Suabia and Bavaria. Turenne, who had separated from Condé and turned to Suabia, had been decisively defeated by Mercy near Mergentheim in 1645 and the victorious Bavarians penetrated into Hesse under their brave leader. But the duke of Enghien hurried at once with a considerable force from Alsatia, Königsmark from Moravia and the Hes-

sians from the Rhine, to reënforce the defeated army and the Bavarians were driven far back into Suabia. At the village of Allersheim, not far from Nördlingen, they made a final stand to defend the Bavarian frontier. The impetuous courage of the duke of Enghien did not shrink before any obstacle. He led his troops against the hostile intrenchments and a great battle ensued which the heroic resistance of the Bavarians made one of the bloodiest and most stubborn fights of the war; finally the death of Mercy, the calmness of Turenne and the stone-wall resistance of the Hessians carried the day for the allies. But this second barbarous slaughter of men had little influence upon the course of the war and the peace negotiations. The French army, exhausted by the bloody victory, was still further depleted by the departure of the Hessians, and the Bavarians were reënforced by imperial troops through Leopold so that Turenne had to start a hurried retreat to the Rhine.

This withdrawal of the French permitted the enemy to turn his whole power to Bohemia against the Swedes. Gustavus Wrangel, a not unworthy successor of Banner and Torstenson, had been appointed in 1646 chief commander over all the Swedish forces, which, besides Königsmark's victorious corps and the many scattered garrisons, still aggregated about 8,000 horses and 15,000 foot-

soldiers. After Archduke Leopold had reënforced his 24,000 men by 12 Bavarian cavalry and 18 infantry regiments, he advanced against Wrangel and hoped to crush him with his superior numbers before Königsmark could unite with him or the French cause a diversion. However, Wrangel did not wait but pushed through Upper Saxony to the Weser, where he took Höxter and Paderborn. Then he turned to Hesse to unite with Turenne, and in his camp at Wetzlar drew to him the itinerant army of Königsmark. But Turenne, restrained by Mazarin's orders, who liked to set a limit to the war ventures of the Swedes, excused himself with the necessity of defending the Netherland frontier of the French empire, since the Dutch had failed that year to create the promised diversion. Since Wrangel continued to insist upon his just demand, and as a further resistance would rouse the suspicion of the Swedes and even make them incline to a separate peace with Austria, Turenne finally received the desired permission to reënforce the Swedish army.

They united at Giessen and then felt strong enough to engage the enemy. The latter had been hurrying after the Swedes to Hesse, where they attempted to cut off their supplies and prevent the junction with Turenne. Both attempts failed, and the imperialists saw themselves barred from the river Main and exposed to the greatest need after

the loss of their stores. Wrangel exploited their weakness to carry out an undertaking which gave the war another turn.

He had adopted the maxims of his predecessors to carry the war into the Austrian states, but deterred by the unsuccessful continuance of Torstenson's enterprise, he hoped to accomplish the same purpose more safely and thoroughly in a different manner. He determined to follow the course of the Danube and break through Bavaria into the Austrian country. A similar plan had already been devised by Gustavus Adolphus, who, however, was unable to carry it out, since Wallenstein's power and Saxony's danger recalled him too soon from his victorious march. Duke Bernhard had followed in his footsteps, and, more fortunate than Gustavus Adolphus, had already unfurled his victorious banners between the Isar and the Inn, but was compelled by the numbers and the proximity of the hostile armies to stop in his heroic career and lead his people back. What these two had failed to achieve, Wrangel now hoped to bring to a successful finish, as the imperial-Bavarian army was far behind him on the river Lahn and could reach Bavaria only after a long march through Franconia and the Upper Palatinate. He hastily advanced toward the Danube, defeated a Bavarian corps near Donauwörth, and crossed that stream as well as the Lech without encountering any further

resistance. Through the futile siege of Augsburg he gave the imperialists time both to relieve that town and push him back to Lauingen. But after they turned again to Suabia in order to shift the seat of war from the Bavarian frontiers, he saw his opportunity to cross the unoccupied Lech which he blocked against the enemies themselves. Bavaria now lay before him open and undefended; Frenchmen and Swedes overran the country like a raging flood and the soldiers compensated themselves for their hardships and dangers by the most terrible outrages, robberies, and extortions. The arrival of the imperial-Bavarian forces, which finally accomplished the crossing of the Lech near Thierhaupten, only aggravated the misery of the country, for friend and foe looted with equal rapacity.

Now and for the first time in the whole war, the courage of Maximilian, who had remained unshaken in the hardest test for twenty-eight years, began to waver. Ferdinand II, his playmate in Ingolstadt and the companion of his youth, was no more. With the death of this friend and benefactor one of the strongest bonds that had tied the elector to the interest of the Austrian House had snapped. To the father he was attached by habit, inclination and gratitude; the son was a stranger to his heart, and only the interest of the state could keep him faithful to this prince.

And it was this which the French succeeded in

doing. They lured him from the Austrian alliance and induced him to lay down his arms. Not without some great purpose had Mazarin imposed silence upon his jealousy of the growing power of the Swedes and allowed the French troops to accompany them to Bavaria. The latter was to suffer all the terrors of the war so that at last need and despair would vanquish Maximilian's courage and the imperialists would lose the first and last of their allies. Brandenburg had chosen neutrality under her great ruler; Saxony had to obey necessity; the Spaniards were deprived by the French war of any share in the German campaign; Denmark was called off the stage by the peace with Sweden, and Poland was disarmed by a long truce. If one could succeed in detaching the elector of Bavaria from the Austrian alliance, then the emperor would not have a single champion in the whole of Germany; he would be defenseless and exposed to the arbitrariness of the other crowns.

Ferdinand III saw the danger and left no stone unturned to avert it. However Austria had inculcated the belief into the elector of Bavaria that it was the Spaniards alone who obstructed the way of peace, and that only their influence prompted the emperor to oppose the laying down of arms. Maximilian hated the Spaniards and had never forgiven them for having antagonized him in his application for the Electorate of the Palatinate.

And now to favor this hostile power he should sacrifice his people, devastate his country, see himself ruined when he could escape from all distress, give his people the needed rest and recovery, and at the same time perhaps accelerate the general peace? All his hesitation vanished, and, convinced of the necessity of this step, he thought to fulfill his duties toward the emperor by making him also share in the boon of an armistice.

The delegates of the three crowns and of Bavaria assembled at Ulm in order to deliberate over the terms of the truce. But from the instructions of the Austrian deputies it was soon seen that the emperor had not sent them to promote the conclusion of a truce, but, on the contrary, to nullify it. The problem was to win the Swedes, who had the advantage and more, to hope than to fear in a continuation of the war. They were the victors, and yet the emperor arrogated to himself to dictate laws to them. Their delegates decided to leave the congress in their first resentment and the French had to resort to threats to restrain them.

After the good intention of the elector of Bavaria had failed to include the emperor in the armistice, he thought himself justified in looking out for himself. However high the price at which he was forced to buy the truce, he did not long hesitate to accept it. He left to the Swedes to extend their quarters in Suabia and Franconia and was satisfied to con-

fine his own to Bavaria and to the Palatinate territory. What he had been gaining in Suabia was to be turned over to the allies, who on their part were to give him back what they held in Bavaria. Cologne and Hesse-Cassel were included in this armistice. After its conclusion on the 14th of March, 1647, the French and Swedes left Bavaria and, not to be in each other's way, chose different quarters; the former in Württemberg, the latter in Upper Suabia near Lake Constance. At the extreme northern end of this lake and at the southernmost corner of Suabia, the Austrian town Bregenz through its steep and narrow defiles defied every hostile attack and from the whole of the surrounding district the people had taken refuge in this natural fortress with all their property. The rich booty which was to be expected in the accumulated stores and the advantage of possessing a pass against Tyrol, Switzerland and Italy, tempted the Swedish general to an attack upon this stronghold and town which were thought to be impregnable. He succeeded in both efforts despite the resistance of the country people, who, 6,000 strong, strove to hold the pass. Meanwhile Turenne, according to agreement, had turned to Württemberg whence he compelled the landgrave of Darmstadt and the elector of Mainz by force of arms to sign an armistice after the example of Bavaria.

The great aim of French diplomacy now seemed

to have been accomplished, namely, to deprive the emperor of the assistance of the League and of his Protestant allies, defenselessly expose him to the united arms of the two crowns, and, sword in hand, dictate the terms of peace to him. An army of about 12,000 men was all that was left of his formidable force and over these he had to set in command a Calvinist, the Hessian deserter Melander, for the war had killed all his ablest generals. But as this struggle had repeatedly shown the most astonishing vicissitudes and by a sudden *coup de théâtre* set at naught all calculations of statescraft, so also the success here belied the expectations, and the despised power of Austria, after a short crisis, worked itself up again to a threatening superiority.

France's jealousy of the Swedes did not permit them to ruin the emperor and thereby raise the Swedish power in Germany to a magnitude which in the end could well become fatal to France. Therefore Austria's helpless position was not exploited by the French minister; Turenne's army was separated from Wrangel's and sent to the Netherland frontiers. But Wrangel, after he had turned from Suabia to Franconia, conquered Schweinfurt and incorporated its imperial garrison into his army, attempted to penetrate into Bohemia on his own account and besieged Eger, the key to that kingdom. In order to relieve this fortress the emperor personally led his last army. But a wide detour, which

they had to make in order not to trespass upon the estates of the president of the council of war, von Schlick, delayed their march and before they arrived, Eger was lost. Both armies were now approaching each other and more than once a decisive battle was expected, as both were in urgent need of provisions. The imperialists had the greater numbers; both camps and battle formations were often separated by only a row of fortifications. However, the imperialists were content to remain by the side of the enemy and to wear him out by petty skirmishes, hunger and strenuous marches until the negotiations opened with Bavaria should reach the desired end.

Bavaria's neutrality was a blow which the imperial court could not forget, and after having in vain tried to prevent it, Austria determined to draw the only possible advantage from it. Several officers of the Bavarian army were indignant over their master's step, which suddenly compelled them to remain idle and imposed a restraint upon their independence. Even the brave Johann von Werth was at the head of the malcontents, and, encouraged by the emperor, he formed a plot to have the entire army revolt against the elector, and to lead it over to the emperor. Ferdinand himself was not loath secretly to protect this treachery against the most faithful ally of his father. He sent formal letters of recall to the elector's soldiers in which he

reminded them that they were troops of the empire whom the elector commanded only in the imperial name. Fortunately, Maximilian discovered the plot in time to forestall its completion by swift and efficacious counter steps.

The unworthy demeanor of the emperor would have justified him in reprisals, but Maximilian was too experienced a statesman to listen to passion, when only prudence should be allowed to speak. He did not gain the advantage from the armistice which he had expected. Far from contributing to the acceleration of the general peace, this one-sided truce had, on the contrary, given a bad turn to the negotiations at Münster and Osnabrück, and made the allies more presumptuous in their demands. The French and the Swedes had been removed from Bavaria, but through the loss of the quarters in the Suabian district he saw himself under the necessity of draining the resources of his own country for his troops, if he did not decide to dismiss them altogether and rashly to discard sword and shield in these days when might was right. Before he chose one of these certain evils, he decided to try a third, which was at least uncertain—to break the truce and take up arms again.

This determination and the quick assistance which he sent to the emperor in Bohemia threatened to be fatal to the Swedes, and Wrangel had to retreat as rapidly as he could. He went through

Thuringia to Westphalia and Lüneburg to draw to him the French army under Turenne, and the imperial-Bavarian army under Melander and Grons-feld followed him to the Weser. His doom was inevitable if the enemy arrived before Turenne could unite with him, but what had saved the emperor before, now saved the Swedes. Amidst the rage of the battle, calm prudence guided the course of the war, and the vigilance of the courts increased the nearer peace approached. The elector of Bavaria could not allow it to happen that the preponderance of power should incline to the side of the emperor and through such sudden change delay the close of the war. So near to the conclusion of the peace treaty every variation of fortune was highly important, and the nullification of the balance of power among the negotiating crowns could destroy in a moment the work of many years, the precious fruit of the most difficult discussions, and delay the peace for the whole of Europe. If France kept her ally, Sweden, under a wise restraint and gave her assistance according to her advantage and losses, the elector of Bavaria tacitly promised to do the same toward his ally, the emperor, and sought to remain master of Austria's greatness by a wise apportioning of his assistance. Now that the power of the emperor suddenly threatened to rise to a dangerous height, Maximilian at once stopped the pursuit of the Swedish

army; he also feared the reprisals of France, which had threatened to send the entire forces of Turenne against him if he should allow his troops to cross the Weser.

Melander, prevented by the Bavarians from pursuing Wrangel, now turned by way of Jena and Erfurt against Hesse and appeared as a formidable enemy in the country which he had formerly defended. If it was really revenge against his quondam princess that induced him to choose Hesse as the scene of his devastations, he satisfied this lust in the most terrible manner. Hesse was bleeding under his scourge and the misery of this poverty-stricken country was pitiful beyond imagination. Soon he had cause to be sorry that in the choice of quarters revenge instead of prudence had prompted him. In the impoverished province the army was exposed to utter want while Wrangel was gathering fresh strength in Lüneburg and obtaining good mounts for his regiments. Much too weak to maintain his poor quarters when the Swedish general renewed the campaign in the winter of 1648 and advanced against Hesse, he had to flee in disgrace and seek safety on the banks of the Danube.

France had again disappointed the expectations of the Swedes and detained the army of Turenne on the Rhine regardless of all requests on the part of Wrangel. The Swedish leader had avenged

himself by drawing to him the Weimarian cavalry, which had resigned from the French service, but through this very step he gave fresh nourishment to the jealousy of France. At last Turenne received permission to unite with the Swedes and presently the final campaign of the terrible war was opened by the combined armies. They were driving Melander before them to the Danube, threw provisions into Eger, which was besieged by the imperialists, and defeated the latter in unison with the Bavarians beyond the Danube. In this action Melander was mortally wounded and the Bavarian general von Gronsfeld took up a position with the remainder of the armies beyond the Lech to protect Bavaria against invasion. However, Gronsfeld was no more fortunate than Tilly, who had laid down his life for Bavaria's rescue on this very spot. Wrangel and Turenne chose the same place for their crossing which was marked by the victory of Gustavus Adolphus and accomplished it with the help of the same advantage which had favored the latter. Now Bavaria was again overrun and the breach of the armistice avenged by the most fearful cruelties upon the Bavarian inhabitants. Maximilian concealed himself in Salzburg while the Swedes were crossing the Isar and penetrated to the Inn. A continual heavy rain, which converted this comparatively small stream into a raging torrent within a few days, saved Austria once more from the